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**THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD**



# ASPECTS OF MUSICAL RHETORIC IN BAROQUE ORGAN MUSIC

BY  
THEMISTOKLIS D. TOUMPOULIDIS

SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD IN PARTIAL  
FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

# SHEFFIELD 2005

**To my parents, Δημήτριο και Ευαγγελινή**

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## ABSTRACT

The association between linguistic and musical principles was acknowledged by Baroque musicians throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a facet that attracted the attention of many musicologists - mostly German (A. Schering, H. Brandes, and H.-H. Unger) - from the beginning of the twentieth century. This study presents an historical background to the whole concept of musical rhetoric, beginning with Luther's theology of music, and focuses on the most significant theoretical compilations of the Baroque era that led to the crystallization and final decline of *musica poetica*. Aspects of classical rhetoric are dealt with extensively, commencing with the rhetorical *dispositio*, as described by Greek and Roman authorities, followed by Mattheson's first musical illustration of the (six-part) rhetorical structure in vocal composition. The work focuses on the musical adaptation of two important elements of Baroque *musica poetica*. Musical-rhetorical figures are presented in chorale compositions by D. Buxtehude and J. S. Bach, conforming to the Baroque notion according to which composers were inclined to depict the allegory and symbolism of the theological text. The study proceeds to the demonstration of the rhetorical *dispositio* in free organ music, adopting a theory that explains the seemingly disjointed parts of the *Klangrede* ('sound-speech') not simply as whimsical elements of the *stylus phantasticus*, but rather as a scenario modelled on rhetorical thought. The alternation of passion and reason between the affective (*exordium* and *peroratio*) and objective (*narratio* and *confirmatio*) sections of the classical *dispositio* is demonstrated in specific *pedaliter praeludia* by D. Buxtehude, whose free organ works point to an advanced rhetorical plan hidden behind each composition. Buxtehude's musical-rhetorical *dispositio* is further applied to organ toccatas by N. Bruhns (E minor) and J. S. Bach (BWV 551 and 566), whose rhetorical style, although different from that of Buxtehude, displays a sequence of contrasting sections also motivated by the functions identified in classical rhetoric.



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I wish to thank the Music Department of the University of Sheffield for awarding me a three-year full organ scholarship, which enabled me to devote myself completely to my doctoral project. I am particularly grateful to my supervisor Dr Alan M. Brown, who guided me throughout my study with his support and unfailing enthusiasm, as well as for his incisive comments and sharp criticism, which undoubtedly contributed to the improvement of the final product. I also wish to acknowledge the valuable financial aid given by the Music Department and arranged by Professor Eric Clarke that allowed me to attend the Summer Organ Academy in Haarlem (The Netherlands) twice within the last four years. I am especially grateful to the Music Librarian, Tom McCanna, who always went out of his way to provide me the necessary details for the material I was searching, as well to the Inter-library Loan Section of the University Main Library for procuring the books and articles upon which I was so dependent. I also have to mention the valuable help of my organ teacher, Kevin Bowyer, for the guidance he gave to my musical development through his inspiring musicianship and good sense of humour. My gratitude goes out as well to all the members of All Saints' Choir (Totley), who, apart from opening up a new world of musical joy, supported and encouraged me during the difficult stages of my doctoral research. Finally, the ultimate debt I owe to my parents for providing me the unconditional support that seems peculiar to parenthood; for their continuous faith in me and for always standing by me.



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## 1. MUSIC AND RHETORIC OVER THE CENTURIES

During the early Renaissance and after the publication boom of Cicero's and Quintilian's texts,<sup>1</sup> many humanist writers suggested a closer link between music and the art of rhetoric.<sup>2</sup> The power of music and rhetoric to 'move' the listener and evoke certain responses was considered indisputable during humanist times. Martin Luther regarded music as a God-given gift to humanity, a *donum Dei*,<sup>3</sup> and in his unfinished thesis 'Concerning music' (1541) he stated:

He who despises music, as do all the fanatics, does not please me. For music is a gift and largess of God, not a gift of men. Music drives away the devil and makes people happy; it induces one to forget all wrath, unchastity, arrogance, and other vices. After theology I accord to music the highest place and the greatest honor.<sup>4</sup>

Many of Luther's writings attest to his great understanding and love of music, while, according to his speculative-cosmological conception, music represented God's perfection. Music's power was rooted in the Pythagorean mathematical tradition, according to which harmony mirrored itself in the numerical proportions of the intervals<sup>5</sup> and was reflected in the balance of the

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<sup>1</sup> Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria* (rediscovered in 1416) witnessed eighteen editions by 1500 and at least one hundred and thirty more by 1600; see Brian Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 1-44 (p. 4), with a bibliography regarding Quintilian's influence in the Renaissance. See also Brian Vickers, 'On the Practicalities of Renaissance Rhetoric', in his *Rhetoric Revalued: Papers from the International Society for the History of Rhetoric*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 19 (New York, Binghamton: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), pp. 133-41. For rhetoric in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, see James J. Murphy, *Renaissance Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

<sup>2</sup> John Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language: Departure from Mimesis in Eighteenth-Century Aesthetics* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), p. 32.

<sup>3</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'Music and Lutheranism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Bach*, ed. by John Butt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp. 35-45.

<sup>4</sup> For the Erlangen (E) and the St Louis (SL) editions of Luther's works, see Walter E. Buszin, 'Luther on Music', *The Musical Quarterly*, 32 (1946), 80-97. For the quoted passage, as translated by Buszin (p. 88), see the above-mentioned editions: E, LXII, p. 311; SL, XXII, 1541.

<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed discussion of the numerical proportions based on the monochord (e.g. octave proportion 1:2) and their theological symbolism (e.g. 1:2= Father: Son, 1:2:3= Father: Son: Holy Spirit > Trinity), see Dietrich Bartel, *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre* (Regensburg: Laaber, 1985); English translation enlarged as *Musica Poetica: Musical-Rhetorical Figures in German Baroque Music* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), pp. 12-15. For the association between music and mathematics with references to the Pythagorean tradition, see Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, pp. 11-21.



elements, the humours of the human body, and the balance of the political state.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, influenced by the Greek tradition of *ethos*, as adopted by early Christianity, Luther assigned to music an influential and shaping virtue. In his view, musical harmony could affect human beings by revealing to them the greater order of Creation through its metaphysical power.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, music was given the position of theology's handmaid (*ancilla theologiae*),<sup>8</sup> and its primary role was to celebrate God and inspire reverence in the individual.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, music displayed a didactic and pedagogic purpose through the established method of *praeceptum*, *exemplum*, and *imitatio*, in other words the discipline that emphasized the study of rules, examples, and imitation of the craft of established masters of the past.<sup>10</sup> Music soon became a fundamental part of the Lutheran *Lateinschule* curriculum (introduced by the humanist Philipp Melanchthon), which included the important branch of the mathematical *quadrivium* (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music).

Luther himself preserved and modified the choral medieval tradition and insisted that music be taught in schools in order that they might promote the music of the church. In his *Tischreden* (Table Talks) he acknowledged:

Music I have always loved. He who knows music has a good nature. Necessity demands that music be kept in the schools. A schoolmaster must be able to sing; otherwise I will not look at him. And before a young man is ordained into the ministry, he should practice music in school.<sup>11</sup>

Apart from the study of mathematical and musical principles, the *Lateinschule* curriculum emphasized the area of the linguistic *trivium*, which

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<sup>6</sup> Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, p. 12.

<sup>7</sup> Bartel, pp. 5-6.

<sup>8</sup> Bellamy Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Germany*, *Studies in Musicology*, 42 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, c. 1981), p. 39.

<sup>9</sup> John Butt, *Bach Interpretation: Articulation Marks in Primary Sources of J. S. Bach* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 10-11.

<sup>10</sup> Bartel, pp. 34-35.

<sup>11</sup> *D. Martin Luthers Werke: Kritische Gesamtausgabe, Weimarer Ausgabe: Tischreden* No. 6248, (Weimar, 1883-1983), cited in Leaver, 'Music and Lutheranism', p. 42. Leaver quotes all translations of Luther's texts from *Luther's Works*, ed. by J. Pelikan and H. T. Lehmann, American Edition Series (St Louis: Concordia Pub. House, 1955-86).



involved the fields of grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric.<sup>12</sup> The writings of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian were taught systematically in the Latin parochial schools and universities, and students were trained to compose an oration following the rhetorical processes and to identify rhetorical figures in the literature they studied. Lutheran cantors taught music, rhetoric, and Latin. Johann Sebastian Bach, whose connection with rhetoric had begun when he was a student at the lyceum in Ohrdruf and continued when he attended the *Michaelisschule* in Lüneburg, gave five Latin lessons a week while at the St Thomas School in Leipzig. Furthermore, during his years at Mühlhausen and Weimar, he might have been acquainted with the rhetorical treatises by Johann Georg Ahle and Johann Gottfried Walther.<sup>13</sup>

Through the Lutheran emphasis on the effectual delivery of God's Word, rhetoric formed the basis of preaching the Gospel to the congregation during the services. The preacher, as an imitator of the ancient orator, was to use a persuasive discourse in order to proclaim effectively the Holy Word to his audience, and his task was achieved more successfully through the intervention of music. Music served the text and made for a more effective delivery of the Holy Gospel by underlining features of the text and reinforcing its inherent affection.<sup>14</sup>

The composer, on the other hand, was to compose his music aiming to highlight the significance of the words and to arouse the affections reflected by the associated text. The musical composition was considered a "[...] *predicatio sonora* (a musical sermon)",<sup>15</sup> the "*viva vox evangelii*" ("the living voice of the Gospel"),<sup>16</sup> and the art that would assist the composer to find the artistic devices for this objective was that of rhetoric. The two basic tools most suitable for the accomplishment of this task were the rhetorical structure and the employment of rhetorical figures. Both were embraced by Lutheran musicians in order to become skilful 'preachers', and musical-rhetorical figures, particularly, were regarded as

<sup>12</sup> Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', pp. 1-4.

<sup>13</sup> Vincent P. Benitez, 'Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', *Bach (The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute)*, 18.1 (January 1987), 3-21 (pp. 4-5).

<sup>14</sup> Bartel, pp. 8-9.

<sup>15</sup> Samuel E. Harold, *The Cantata in Nuremberg during the Seventeenth Century* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 181, cited in Benitez, p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> Oskar Söhngen, *Theologie der Musik* (Kassel: Johannes Stauda Verlag, 1967), p. 97, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 8.



important elements employed by composers to underscore the meaning of the text.<sup>17</sup> In summary, it was the place of music in Luther's theology, emphasizing both mathematical (music) and linguistic (spoken Word) principles that established the basis for the future consolidation of musical and rhetorical disciplines in the Lutheran world.

As mentioned above, Luther's theocentric philosophy of music was based on the numerical proportions of musical intervals, a theory rooted in the beliefs of the Roman statesman, mathematician and philosopher Boethius (480-524). He first introduced the Pythagorean metaphysics of music into medieval thought and divided musical discipline into three categories: *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis*. The first of these, *musica mundana* (music of the universe), involved the organization of the elements and the variety of the seasons observed in the heavens. *Musica humana*, on the other hand, referred to the music of the human body and spirit, which, as Boethius stated, "[...] unites the incorporeal activity of the reason with the body [...]."<sup>18</sup> The third branch, *musica instrumentalis*, involved the kind of music residing in certain instruments, produced either by tension, by blowing, or by some kind of percussion.<sup>19</sup> This last category included sounding music with its intervals determined by numerical proportions.

As these three musical divisions were governed by mathematical principles, medieval scholastic thought emphasized rather the mathematical and intellectual *ratio* than the aural *sensus*. Music, therefore, was regarded as a mathematical discipline alongside arithmetic, geometry and astronomy, making up the *quadrivium* of the seven liberal arts. Since mathematical disciplines took precedence over linguistic ones, the music instructor (*musicus*), who had a deep understanding of the rules, was considered superior to the practical musician (cantor), who composed or performed music according to the rules. While the former (*musicus*) was more involved with mathematical disciplines, the latter

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<sup>17</sup> Benitez, pp. 3-4. See also Bartel, pp. 7-9.

<sup>18</sup> Oliver Strunk, *Source Readings in Music History: From Classical Antiquity to the Romantic Era* (London: Faber, 1952), p. 85.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.



(cantor), whose duties included, apart from choir directing, the teaching of Rhetoric and Latin, was more allied with the linguistic *trivium* of the seven liberal arts. This ranking between mathematical and linguistic disciplines (*quadrivium* and *trivium*) would eventually change during the Renaissance and give rise to the concept of *musica poetica*.<sup>20</sup>

At the emergence of the Renaissance, with the growing emphasis on human value, the Boethian cosmological concept of music began to decline. The medieval threefold division of music into *musica mundana*, *musica humana*, and *musica instrumentalis* was redefined into a new twofold division of musical discipline. Renaissance theorists introduced the duality of *musica theoretica* (*speculativa* or *naturalis*) and *musica practica* (*artificialis*). *Musica theoretica* subsumed *musica mundana* and *musica humana*, while *musica practica* embraced *musica instrumentalis*.<sup>21</sup> Correspondingly, the mathematical disciplines of the *quadrivium* gave way to the linguistic ones of the *trivium*, while, in Renaissance thought and spirit, study of the Divine nature was to be replaced by study of the human, and sciences were ‘humanized’ through rational and logical justifications.

During the sixteenth century, this shift to an anthropological focus gave rise to another facet of musical science, called by German writers *musica poetica*. This emerging approach rationally explained the process and structure of a composition, as well as the mechanism through which music affected the listener.<sup>22</sup> Nicolaus Listenius (*Rudimenta musicae planae*, 1533; *Musica*, 1537) was the first to add the term *musica poetica* to the bipartite division of music into *musica theoretica* and *musica practica*. Later, Gallus Dressler, in his compositional treatise *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (1563), referred to the division of an oration into *exordium*, *medium*, and *finis*, and to its application to musical composition.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Bartel, pp. 11-12. See also Blake Wilson, George J. Buelow, and Peter A. Hoyt, ‘Rhetoric and Music’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by Stanley Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxi, pp. 260-75 (p. 261).

<sup>21</sup> Bartel, p. 18.

<sup>22</sup> Leon W. Couch III, ‘Musical Rhetoric in Three Praeludia of Dietrich Buxtehude’, *The Diapason*, 91 (March 2000), 14-19 (p. 14).

<sup>23</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, pp. 261-62.



Throughout the sixteenth century, authors such as J. Stomius (*Prima ad musicen instructio*, 1537), J. Galliculus (1538), and S. Heyden (*De arte canendi*, 1540), explained musical devices in rhetorical terms. In 1536, Stomius related *fuga* to the rhetorical figure *mimesis*, while Galliculus (1538) discussed *schemata variorum colorum* (figures of varying embellishments), without, however, referring to any particular ones. Additionally, Dressler (1563) referred to suspensions, cadences, and fugues as three expressive *ornamenta* employed by Clemens non Papa, and considered pauses important elements assigned to lend musical composition *elegantiam et suavitatem*.<sup>24</sup> Early in the seventeenth century, Joachim Burmeister, in his treatises *Musica autoschediastikē* (Rostock, 1601) and *Musica poetica* (Rostock, 1606),<sup>25</sup> applied the term *musica poetica* to the study of rhetorical relationships in music. This involved the employment of a methodical use of rhetorical terminology and the development of a systematic approach to the concept of musical-rhetorical figures. Johannes Lippius, in his *Synopsis musicae novae* (1612), suggested that the rhetorical ornaments be used in composition and in performance practice in order to carry out the purpose of the oration. He stated:

Like an artful orator, the musician uses these ornaments to polish his harmonic oration in keeping with the nature of the text and the circumstances of persons, time, place etc., so that he may achieve his aim successfully. [...] In this style ordinary musicians often embellish a basic composition when appropriate, using pleasant elegance like an elaborate scriptural flourish.<sup>26</sup>

The new term *musica poetica*, as first introduced by N. Listenius, referred to the art of producing a musical composition (*ars compositionis*). During the Renaissance, this new approach marked the shift from the numerically and cosmologically based conception of music to a view of it as a more

<sup>24</sup> Bartel, pp. 75-76.

<sup>25</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, ed. by Claude V. Palisca, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, Music Theory Translation Series (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993).

<sup>26</sup> Johannes Lippius, *Synopsis musicae novae omino verae atque methodicae universae* (Strassburg: C. Kieffer, 1612); English translation: *Synopsis of New Music*, trans. by Benito V. Rivera (Colorado Springs: Colorado College Music Press, 1977), p. 49. For the same passage, see also John Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 47. For further readings on Lippius's *Synopsis musicae novae*, see John Brooks Howard, 'Form and Method in Johannes Lippius's "Synopsis Musicae Novae"', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 38.3 (Autumn 1985), 524-50.



communicative activity, closely related to aspects of the linguistic *trivium*. The idea of making or creating, implied by the term *musica poetica*, lies in the Aristotelian notion of poetics, which was valid for Baroque writers.<sup>27</sup> It involved the art of making a composition (as the origin of the word is traced back to the Greek meaning 'to create'), and included treatises that served as elucidations of counterpoint and thorough-bass, and approaches to the method of composition.<sup>28</sup> *Musica theoretica*, on the other hand, referred to theoretical speculation following a tradition established in the medieval world, which attempted to explain music in numbers and considered musical harmony a reflection of the harmony of the Creation. Finally, *musica practica* was related to the performance of music and required "[...] considerable skill, insight and awareness of the rhetorically-influenced practice of composition."<sup>29</sup>

Through the emergent principle of *musica poetica*, the ideal musician, or rather the 'music-poet' (*musicus poeticus*), was to compose his music in order to express the text and portray the related affections. As previously discussed, Martin Luther stressed music's fundamental purpose as being oriented towards the textual expression and the proclamation of the principal truths of the Gospel. The first signs of this close text-music relationship can be traced back to the generation of Josquin, when theorists declared a new style of music known as *musica nuova* (*nuova maniera* or *musica reservata*).<sup>30</sup> The primary goal of music was to emphasize the significance of the text and to reflect its syntax and structure. The composer, the *musicus poeticus* or *melopoeticus*, was to imitate the task of the orator in his setting of the words to music, as N. Vicentino explained in his *L' antica musica ridotta alla moderna prattica* (Rome, 1555), where he stated:

<sup>27</sup> Timothy Edward Albrecht, 'Musical Rhetoric in Selected Organ Works of Johann Sebastian Bach' (unpublished D. M. A. thesis, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1978), p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> George Buelow, 'Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory: Germany', *Journal of Music Theory*, 16 (1972), 36-49 (pp. 39-41). See also Manfred F. Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era from Monteverdi to Bach* (London: J. M. Dent, 1947), pp. 370-93.

<sup>29</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. xiv.

<sup>30</sup> Claude V. Palisca, 'Ut Oratoria Musica: The Rhetorical Basis of Musical Mannerism', in *The Meaning of Mannerism*, ed. by Franklin W. Robinson and Stephen G. Nichols, Jr (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1972), pp. 37-65 (p. 38).



The movement of the measure [in music] should change according to the words, now slower and now faster [...]. The experience of the orator can be instructive, if you observe the technique he follows in his oration. For he speaks now loud and now soft, now slow and now fast, thus greatly moving his listeners. This technique of changing measure has a powerful effect on the soul.<sup>31</sup>

From the middle of the sixteenth century the term *musica reservata* appeared in the treatises of many Renaissance authors including Mersenne, Zarlino, and Galilei,<sup>32</sup> who implied the subordination of music to text.<sup>33</sup> It was due to the new principle that dominated the Renaissance that the text was to become an integral part of any composition, and most composers went to great lengths to express the sense of the text and preserve its rhythm and audibility. Accordingly, Galilei and other “musical humanists”<sup>34</sup> of the Florentine Camerata who sought for a music that centered on man, stressed music’s power to affect the listener through the proper use of the ancient Greek chromatic and enharmonic genera and through the appropriate application of the modes.<sup>35</sup>

According to Zarlino, melody was “[...] a combination of speech, harmony and rhythm”<sup>36</sup> and it was in this combination that Plato favoured the unity of music with language, and honoured speech with harmony and music being placed in a subordinate position. The depiction of the meaning of the words could be accomplished either literally or metaphorically. In many cases, as with singers, the illustration of the text involved the imitation of the passions inherent in it

<sup>31</sup> Nicola Vicentino, *Ancient Music Adapted to Modern Practice*, ed. by Claude V. Palisca, trans. by Maria Rika Maniates (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), p. 301, cited in Todd Borgerding, ‘Preachers, “Pronunciatio,” and Music: Hearing Rhetoric in Renaissance Sacred Polyphony’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 82.3/4, Special Issue: ‘Music as Heard’ (Autumn-Winter 1998), 586-598 (p. 591).

<sup>32</sup> Claude V. Palisca, ‘A Clarification of “Musica Reservata” in Jean Taisnier’s “Astrologiae,” 1559’, *Acta Musicologica*, 31 (1959), 133-61.

<sup>33</sup> For the whole issue regarding text and music and all the contradictory aspects of effects through chromatic and enharmonic genera during the Renaissance, see D. P. Walker, ‘Musical Humanism in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries’, *The Music Review*, 2 (1941), 1-13, 111-21, 220-27, 288-308; and 3 (1942), 55-71. See also Strunk, pp. 255-61, where he cites G. Zarlino’s views on how the harmonies are adapted to the words placed beneath them, as well as the procedure to be followed in fitting the text to a musical line.

<sup>34</sup> Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, p. 27.

<sup>35</sup> Walker, p. 114.

<sup>36</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche* (Venice, 1558; 1562), Book 4, Chapter 32, as it appears in Strunk, p. 256. It was in Book 3 of *The Republic* (398 c-d) that Plato subordinated harmony and rhythm to speech; see Neubauer, p. 23.



through gestures, facial expressions, and the appropriate inflection of the voice.<sup>37</sup> Humanists were particularly in favour of the metaphorical illustration and tended to disdain the literal portrayal of the text. Galilei condemned composers' efforts to represent blackness and whiteness through black and white notes,<sup>38</sup> while Mersenne underscored the importance of the performer, and, drawing on the ancient Greek authorities Meletius and Athenaeus, emphasized the dramatic style of execution and the motions of the body in singing.<sup>39</sup>

Apart from the close union between text and music, it was believed that the choice of the appropriate mode and its right employment in a composition could have specific ethical and affective properties.<sup>40</sup> Humanist writers, beginning with Zarlino, assigned particular affective characteristics to the church modes. The fundamental point of difference among them was based on the fact that the mode Glareanus, Vicentino, and Tyard considered Dorian, Zarlino and Mersenne regarded as Phrygian.<sup>41</sup> However, the majority of them related those modes with a major third above the finalis with joyful affections, and those with a minor triad above the finalis with sadder sentiments.<sup>42</sup> Most of the humanists tended to agree on the qualities of each mode, as can be seen from Mersenne's list, which included the attributed features supplied by Zarlino, always referring to classical authors.<sup>43</sup>

Furthermore, Galilei and Vicentino attempted to resuscitate ancient music and intonation, and advocated the revival of the Greek genera as a means of arousing the ancient effects. However, despite their efforts to reintroduce the Greek genres to modern music, no composition was written in an imitation of them. As Walker has shown, since there was no unanimity among the humanists,

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<sup>37</sup> Walker, 'Musical Humanism in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries', pp. 289-90.

<sup>38</sup> "Finding words denoting diversity of color, such as 'dark' or 'light' hair and similar expressions, they have put black or white notes beneath them to express this sort of conception craftily and gracefully, as they say, meanwhile making the sense of hearing subject to the accidents of color and shape, the particular objects of sight and, in solid bodies, of touch" (Vincenzo Galilei, *Dialogo della musica antica e della moderna* (Venice, 1581), as it appears in Strunk, p. 317).

<sup>39</sup> Walker, p. 292.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 220-27.

<sup>41</sup> *ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>42</sup> Bartel, p. 41.

<sup>43</sup> Walker, pp. 222-24.



any attempts made to revive the ancient Greek genres resulted in a mixture of the three of them (diatonic, chromatic, and enharmonic).<sup>44</sup> Zarlino and Mersenne denied the significance of the ancient genres in producing the effects, while Galilei and especially Vicentino favoured the revival of the Greek chromatic and enharmonic genera, and justified their endeavour by referring to ancient authorities.<sup>45</sup>

The new elements of *musica reservata* were strongly criticized by the mathematician and choirmaster J. Taisnier, who regarded the facets of this 'new music' as distortions of the "*bella maniera di scrivere*",<sup>46</sup> when he stated in his '*Astrologiae*' (1559):

[They are] completely ignorant of the difference that exists between the diatonic on the one hand and the chromatic and enharmonic on the other, the difficulty of which [last two genres] I sufficiently discussed in our book concerning music. [...] And whenever they endeavor to contrive something new, disregarding in their compositions the modes that rest on the principles of music, they commit a great mistake; [...] neglecting the ligatures of notes, their values in mode, tempus and prolation; [modulating], as they would have it (the expression is colloquial, for music, properly speaking, is not modulated), harmonious, flowing, running counterpoints in minims and semiminims, ad fugam, with repetitions, in perfect and imperfect modus, through major and minor hemiola, by sesquialtera, sesquitercia, sesquiquarta, etc.<sup>47</sup>

Taisnier objected to the devices employed by musicians of his time, many of which were the result of the composers' efforts to imitate and depict the deeper meaning of the text. He referred to their indifference to the limits of the modes resulting from the use of chromatic intervals, and, influenced by Glareanus, he insisted that the same mode be maintained throughout the composition. This, however, contradicted the new principle supported by Vicentino, according to

<sup>44</sup> Walker, 'Musical Humanism in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries', pp. 115 and 119-20. According to Walker (p. 120), musical compositions in these genera were not successful and never got into print.

<sup>45</sup> See Palisca ('A Clarification of "Musica Reservata"', p. 152), who cites Athenaeus, Aristotle, and Plutarch as authors to whom Vicentino referred in order to support his statements about the revival of the ancient genera.

<sup>46</sup> Palisca, '*Ut Oratoria Musica*', p. 39.

<sup>47</sup> Palisca, 'A Clarification of "Musica Reservata"', pp. 140-41.



which the composer was free to deviate from one mode to another, shifting to unusual modulations following the content of the text.<sup>48</sup> Furthermore, Taisnier rejected his contemporaries' notational practices that favoured the adoption of notes of small value (such as semiminims) in passages of counterpoint or embellishment,<sup>49</sup> and, regarding metrical arrangement, he denounced the shift from triple to duple metre and back. Taisnier was also against the use of figures such as the fugue (*ad fugam*) and all sorts of imitation employed to depict the meaning of the text.<sup>50</sup> Additionally, he repudiated the mixture of imitative with chordal passages (e.g. *faux bourdon*)<sup>51</sup> that broke the flow of the texture, and objected to sudden metrical and tempo changes, particularly those involving declamatory-style sections of motets.<sup>52</sup>

The theoretical basis of Renaissance text-painting can be first identified in the musical writings of the generation of Josquin, by which time the works of Cicero and Quintilian had already been published. A good example is Josquin's motet with the title *Ave Maria, virgo serena*, in which rhythms and melodic phrases are subordinate to the affective setting of the words.<sup>53</sup> Josquin represented "[...] a classical moment in the music of the sixteenth century [...]",<sup>54</sup> and his influential role regarding the interactions between words and notes was acknowledged by later theorists such as Coclico, Glarean, and Finck. Glarean in particular, in his *Dodekachordon* (1547), praised Josquin for his ability to fit *verba* to *res* and stressed that

[...] where his matter requires it, [he] now advances with impetuous and precipitate notes, now intones his subject in long-drawn tones, and, [...] has brought forth nothing that was not delightful to the ear and approved as ingenious by the learned, nothing, in short, that was

<sup>48</sup> Palisca, 'A Clarification of "Musica Reservata"', p. 141.

<sup>49</sup> Palisca, 'Ut Oratoria Musica', p. 39.

<sup>50</sup> The sense of chase or flee which is actually implied by the literal meaning of the word *fuga* comprehends all types of imitation: *metalepsis*, *hypallage*, *apocope* (for the definition of *fuga*, see Bartel, pp. 277-90).

<sup>51</sup> *Faux bourdon*, or *catathresis*, or *simul procedentia*, a figure defined by Bartel as "a musical passage characterized by successive sixth-chord progressions" (Bartel, p. 271).

<sup>52</sup> See Palisca ('A Clarification of "Musica Reservata"', pp. 142-43), who cites a musical example by Lasso.

<sup>53</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 261.

<sup>54</sup> Palisca, 'Ut Oratoria Musica', p. 41.



not acceptable and pleasing, even when it seemed less erudite, to those who listened to it with judgement.<sup>55</sup>

Moreover, Lassus, “[...] the epitome of mannerism”,<sup>56</sup> was considered a master of *musica reservata*, and the humanist Samuel Quicquelberg (1529-1568) praised his power to express

[...] [the] psalms so appropriately, in accommodating, according to necessity, the thoughts and words with lamenting and plaintive tones, in expressing the force of the individual affections, in placing the object almost alive before the eyes: that one is at a loss to say whether the sweetness of the affections more greatly enhanced the lamenting tones or the lamenting tones brought greater ornament to the sweetness of the affections.<sup>57</sup>

It was also Gallus Dressler, who referred to Lassus’s “suavity and [...] skill in applying harmony to the words aptly and appropriately through ornament.”<sup>58</sup> At the same time, the rhetorical concepts of *decorum* and *varietas*, underlined by Cicero as significant to the art of speaking, also permeated the art of composition. Music was expected to incorporate diversity of harmonies and modal variety (dominant principles of *musica reservata*) in order to delight the ears of the listeners. Earlier, in discussing the art of singing in his *Practica musice* (1496), Gaffurius had suggested that the composer of a song always kept in mind the words he would set his music to. Regarding gestures and pronunciation, he advised singers to avoid superfluous vibrato and excessive gesticulations, such as extreme and meaningless movements of the head and hands.<sup>59</sup>

As mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*, first printed in Rome in 1470, had been widely circulated during the second half of the sixteenth century. The extensive publication of Quintilian’s

<sup>55</sup> Heinrich Glarean, *Dodekachordon* (Basle, 1547), Book 3, Chapter 24, as it appears in Strunk, p. 221.

<sup>56</sup> Palisca, ‘*Ut Oratoria Musica*’, p. 41.

<sup>57</sup> Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance*, rev. edn (New York: Norton, 1954), p. 513, cited in Palisca, ‘A Clarification of “Musica Reservata”’, p. 154.

<sup>58</sup> Gallus Dressler, *Praecepta musicae poeticae*, Chapter 15, quoted in Martin Ruhnke, *Joachim Burmeister: Ein Beitrag zur Musiklehre um 1600*, Schriften des Landesinstituts für Musikforschung, Kiel, 5 (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955), p. 137, translated by Palisca, ‘*Ut Oratoria Musica*’, p. 40.

<sup>59</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 261.



texts had disseminated the idea of the close alliance of music and rhetoric, and the resulting evocation of certain emotional reactions in the listener. Music was to reflect the text's syntax and structure, as well as represent vividly the ideas and portray the related affections. Music's power to stir the human spirit was also underscored by Aristotle and Cicero.<sup>60</sup> However, it was Quintilian who drew a clear and explicit analogy between rhetoric and music,<sup>61</sup> and devoted much of his didactic work *Institutio oratoria* to the education of the orator in order to instruct him how to direct and move the affections of the audience.<sup>62</sup> Among other studies necessary for the education of the orator, such as astronomy and geometry, Quintilian included the art of music, when in the tenth chapter of his first book of *Institutio oratoria* he stated:

But let us discuss the advantages which our future orator may reasonably expect to derive from the study of Music. Music has two modes of expression in the voice and in the body; for both voice and body require to be controlled by appropriate rules. [...] Now I ask you whether it is not absolutely necessary for the orator to be acquainted with all these methods of expression which are concerned firstly with gesture, secondly with the arrangement of words and thirdly with the inflexions of the voice, of which a great variety are required in pleading.<sup>63</sup>

Quintilian also associated eloquence with the stirring of the emotions of the audience, and in the same chapter of the first book he continued, stating:

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<sup>60</sup> For further references to the original sources, see George J. Buelow, 'Teaching Seventeenth-Century Concepts of Musical Form and Expression: An Aspect of Baroque Music', *College Music Symposium*, 27 (1987), 1-13 (pp. 7-13). See also P. R. Coleman-Norton, 'Cicero Musicus', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 1.2 (Summer 1948), 3-22 (pp. 13-14).

<sup>61</sup> Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, pp. 31-41.

<sup>62</sup> The terms *affect* and *affection*, used in English literature (German *affekt*), are derived from the Latin verb *adficio* (or *afficio*), which means to influence, affect. The Greek term that stands for this meaning is *pathos* (πάθος) > English *passion*. For a comprehensive study regarding definitions of the term and the so-called Theory of Affections (*Affektenlehre*), see George J. Buelow, 'Johann Mattheson and the Invention of the Affektenlehre', in *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. by G. J. Buelow and H. J. Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 393-407, who denounces the modern literature which tends to credit Johann Mattheson with the invention of the concept of affections.

<sup>63</sup> *The Institutio Oratoria of Quintilian*, trans. by H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols, (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920-22), i (1920; repr. 1969), Book I. x. 22-23, 170-71.



But eloquence does vary both tone and rhythm, expressing sublime thoughts with elevation, pleasing thoughts with sweetness, and ordinary with gentle utterance, and in every expression of its art is in sympathy with the emotions of which it is the mouthpiece. It is by the raising, lowering or inflexion of the voice that the orator stirs the emotions of his hearers, and the measure, if I may repeat the term, of voice or phrase differs according as we wish to rouse the indignation or the pity of the judge. For, as we know, different emotions are roused even by the various musical instruments, which are incapable of reproducing speech. [...] Give me the knowledge of the principles of music, which have power to excite or assuage the emotions of mankind.<sup>64</sup>

As a proof of the power of music to stir human passions, Quintilian cited the examples of Pythagoras and Chrysippus, who managed to manipulate human behaviour through the affective qualities of music. They also referred to the effect of the use of the spondaic measure, as well as to the power of the Phrygian mode to excite the emotions of the listeners.<sup>65</sup>

Regarding the role of emotions in oratory, Cicero, in his influential work *De oratore* (*On the Orator*), stressed that

[...] nothing in oratory, [...] is more important than to win for the orator the favour of his hearer, and to have the latter so affected as to be swayed by something resembling a mental impulse or emotion, rather than by judgement or deliberation.<sup>66</sup>

And relating delivery (*actio, pronuntiatio*) to the stirring of the listeners' emotional responses he stated:

For nature has assigned to every emotion a particular look and tone of voice and bearing of its own; and the whole of a person's frame and every look on his face and utterance of his voice are like the strings of a harp, and sound according as they are struck by each successive emotion. For the tones of the voice are keyed up like the strings of an instrument, so as to answer to every touch, high, low, quick, slow,

<sup>64</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, i (1969), Book I. x. 24-26, 170-71; x. 31, 174-75.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, Book I. x. 32-33, 174-75. It was also Aristotle, who, in chapters 5 and 7 of *The Politics* stressed the power of music to release human passions; see Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, p. 43.

<sup>66</sup> Cicero, in twenty-eight volumes, Loeb Classical Library, iii (1942): *De oratore: Books I and II*, trans. by E. W. Sutton (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); Book II. xlii. 178, 324-25.



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*forte, piano*, while between all of these in their several kinds there is a medium note [...].<sup>67</sup>

During the Renaissance and through the revival of Quintilian's and Cicero's texts which strengthened the bonds between music and oratory, music's power over the human passions was acknowledged by all composers and became the intended purpose of their music. Quintilian's division of *elocutio* (eloquence) into *recte loquendum* (correct eloquence) and *bene loquendum* (elegant eloquence) was adopted by A. P. Coclico (*Compendium musices*, 1552) and H. Finck (*Practica musica*, 1556), who referred to *recte cantandum* (correct pronunciation in text singing) and *bene cantandum* (embellished singing).<sup>68</sup> It was during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and particularly in the Baroque period, that the portrayal of the affections became an aesthetic necessity of most composers. At the turn of the seventeenth century, in 1601/2, G. Caccini in the preface to his *Le nuove musiche* maintained that the aim of the singer should be to move the affects of the soul. At the same time, Michael Praetorius in his *Syntagma musicum* stressed that a singer should perform in such a way as to stir the affections in the heart of the listener. Emphasis was placed on free ornamentation as a function of rhetoric, which was explicitly linked with the arousal of the affects. M. Praetorius considered that "as with the office of an orator, [performance] involves not only the adorning of an oration with beautiful, charming, lively words and wonderful figures, but also correct pronunciation and moving of the *Affekt*."<sup>69</sup>

During the Baroque, the interpretation of the text and the portrayal of the affections became the principal goal of music, and the composer's task now was to arouse the affections and prompt a predictable response from the listener. Rhetoric's growing significance led not only to the application of the rhetorical steps *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoratio*, and *actio* (or *pronuntiatio*) to

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<sup>67</sup> Cicero, in twenty-eight volumes, Loeb Classical Library, iv (1942): *De oratore: Book III, De fato, Paradoxa stoicorum, De partitione oratoria*, trans. by H. Rackham (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); *De oratore: Book III*. lvii. 216, 172-73.

<sup>68</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, pp. 261 and 270.

<sup>69</sup> Michael Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum III: Termini Musici* (Wolfenbüttel: Holwein, 1619); Facsimile-Nachdruck herausgegeben von Wilibald Gurlitt; Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft; Dokumenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles, 15 (Kassel/ Basel: Bärenreiter, 1958), p. 229, translated by Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, p. 17.



musical composition, but also to the adaptation of rhetorical figures that were now transferred into music as musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>70</sup> Throughout the eighteenth century, the explicit association between linguistic and musical rhetoric was acknowledged by Baroque musicians, who borrowed rhetorical concepts to demonstrate aspects of their musical compositions.

The term 'musical-rhetorical figure' was originally coined in an article published at the beginning of the last century by Arnold Schering,<sup>71</sup> who described it as "a general recipe for clever, effective text interpretation."<sup>72</sup> Later German musicologists who dealt with the same issue included Heinz Brandes, Hans-Heinrich Unger, and Arnold Schmitz.<sup>73</sup> The concept of the *musikalische Figurenlehre* equated the expressive rhetorical devices employed in speeches by classical orators with analogous musical figures, and constituted a unique phenomenon of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German Baroque. It was oriented towards text-music relationships, and comprised harmonic, melodic, or other specific types of expressive devices that differed from everyday usage. Musical-rhetorical figures were considered deviations from traditional compositional norms, namely unusual devices with an expressive function aiming to enhance the contrapuntal texture of composition.<sup>74</sup> German Baroque *musica poetica* treatises embraced a large number of musical-rhetorical figures that acted

<sup>70</sup> Neubauer, *The Emancipation of Music from Language*, p. 33.

<sup>71</sup> Arnold Schering, 'Die Lehre von den musikalischen Figuren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 21 (1908), 106-14.

<sup>72</sup> Arnold Schering, *Das Symbol in der Musik* (Leipzig: Koehler & Amelang, c. 1941), p. 61: "ein allgemeines Rezept für kluge, wirkungsvolle Textausdeutung", translated by Albrecht, p. 34.

<sup>73</sup> Heinz Brandes, *Studien zur musikalischen Figurenlehre im 16. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Triltsch & Huther, 1935); Hans-Heinrich Unger, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Musik und Rhetorik im 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, *Musik und Geistesgeschichte: Berliner Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 4 (Würzburg: Konrad Triltsch Verlag, 1941; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1969); Arnold Schmitz, *Die Bildlichkeit in der wortgebundenen Musik J. S. Bachs*, *Neue Studien zur Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1950). For a more complete bibliography regarding primary and secondary sources on rhetoric and music, see George J. Buelow, 'Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography', *Notes (Music Library Association)*, 30 (1973-74), 250-59.

<sup>74</sup> Hellmut Federhofer, 'Musica poetica und musikalische Figur in ihrer Bedeutung für die Kirchenmusik des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts', *Acta Musicologica*, 65.2 (July-December 1993), 119-33. See also Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, 'Zum Figur-Begriff der Musica poetica', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 16 (1959), 57-69.



as formulae of composition for Baroque composers, providing “[...] an answer to the question of essential compositional elements.”<sup>75</sup>

However, before the Baroque, composers applied musical-rhetorical figures in both sacred and secular music, in order to illustrate words and textual ideas more effectively. In fact, abundant evidence can be found in sixteenth-century Renaissance madrigals, which attest to this kind of early musical rhetoric. Lassus, as mentioned before, was considered ‘the greatest musical orator’ by his contemporaries, and in 1606 Joachim Burmeister was the first to analyze Lassus’s five-voice motet *In me transierunt*, based on the rhetorical structure and the application of musical figures.<sup>76</sup> Burmeister emphasized the division of the composition into periods (affections) “[...] for the purpose of studying its artfulness and using it as a model for imitation.”<sup>77</sup> He furthermore described a musical affection as

[...] a period in a melody or in a harmonic piece, terminated by a cadence, which moves and stirs the hearts of men. It is a movement or something that brings joy or sadness [...], being either agreeable, pleasing and welcome, or unwelcome and displeasing to the ears and to the heart.<sup>78</sup>

Influenced by the three-fold Aristotelian division of a tragic drama or an epic poem into *arche* (beginning), *meson* (middle), and *teleute* (end),<sup>79</sup> Burmeister identified three main sections in Lassus’s motet. The first of them (*exordium* or introduction) involved the first period of the text, the following seven formed the *ipsum corpus carminis* of the motet (the body of the work itself) resembling the

<sup>75</sup> Albrecht, p. 34.

<sup>76</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 263.

<sup>77</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, p. 203.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, p. xlix.

<sup>79</sup> “We have laid it down that tragedy is a representation of an action that is whole and complete and of a certain magnitude, since a thing may be a whole and yet have no magnitude. A whole is what has a beginning and middle and end (*The Poetics*, trans. by W. Hamilton Fyfe, vii. 2-4, 31)”, in Aristotle, in twenty-three volumes, Loeb Classical Library, xxiii (1927): Aristotle, *The Poetics*; “Longinus”, *On the Sublime*; Demetrius, *On Style* (London: Heinemann; New York: Putnam’s Sons).



confirmation of a speech, while the last period of the text constituted the final epilogue or conclusion of the motet (*finis*).<sup>80</sup>

In oratory, the significance of figures was underscored by Quintilian who, discussing figures of speech as a form of language, claimed:

For every *figure* of this kind would be an error, if it were accidental and not deliberate. But as a rule such *figures* are defended by authority, age and usage, and not infrequently by some reason as well. Consequently, although they involve a divergence from direct and simple language, they are to be regarded as excellences, provided always that they have some praiseworthy precedent to follow. They have one special merit, that they relieve the tedium of everyday stereotyped speech and save us from commonplace language.<sup>81</sup>

In ancient oratory, the speaker was expected to ornament his ideas with rhetorical imagery in order to heighten his discourse and infuse his speech with affective language. Accordingly, the technique that involved the broader concept of figures of speech (technical devices) was described in the *decoratio* (*elaboratio* or *elocutio*), the third part of the rhetorical structure.

Quintilian, in books VIII and IX of his *Institutio oratoria*, distinguished between tropes and figures. He argued that, despite their common employment to “[...] add force and charm [...]” to the oration,<sup>82</sup> tropes were “[...] the artistic alteration of a word or phrase from its proper meaning to another.”<sup>83</sup> They referred to “[...] the transference of expressions from their natural and principal signification to another, with a view to [...] the transference of words and phrases from the place which is strictly theirs to another to which they do not properly belong.”<sup>84</sup> As examples of rhetorical tropes Quintilian listed *metaphor*, *synecdoche*, *metonymy*, *antonomasia*, *onomatopoea*, *catachresis*, and *metalepsis* (*transumptio*), which involved in most cases the transference of a word, or of a part of a word, from its principal place to another.<sup>85</sup> In particular, *metaphor* was

<sup>80</sup> Palisca, ‘*Ut Oratoria Musica*’, p. 41.

<sup>81</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1921; repr. 1976), Book IX. iii. 3-4, 442-43.

<sup>82</sup> *ibid.*, Book IX. i. 2, 348-49.

<sup>83</sup> *ibid.*, Book VIII. vi. 1, 300-01.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, Book IX. i. 4, 350-51.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, Book VIII. vi. 4-39, 302-23.



considered the most expressive of all tropes “[...] designed to move the feelings, give special distinction to things and place them vividly before the eye [...]”<sup>86</sup> Other tropes referred solely to the enhancement of the style of language used, without implying a change in meaning, and these included *epithet* (or *appositum*), *allegory*, *periphrasis*, *hyperbaton*, and *hyperbole*.<sup>87</sup>

On the other hand, figure (also called *schema*) referred to a syntactical reworking of the ordinary language by deviating from the normal order or structure of words and sentences; it meant “[...] a rational change in meaning or language from the ordinary and simple form [...]”<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, it was employed when the orator pretended to say something other than that which he actually did say. Consequently, figure was regarded as “[...] a form of expression to which a new aspect is given by art.”<sup>89</sup> Quintilian distinguished between figures of thought (*figurae sententiarum*) and figures of speech (*figurae verborum*) by stressing that the former lay in the conception, mind, or feeling, while the latter were concerned with words, diction, language, or style. He additionally maintained that figures used to arouse certain emotions such as anger, grief, pity, fear, confidence, or contempt should not be confused with the aroused emotion (affection) itself, and referred to long passages from Cicero’s *De oratore* in order to illustrate his point.<sup>90</sup>

Apart from the revival of many classical texts, the Renaissance witnessed the spread of many contemporary texts on rhetoric. A collection of rhetorical figures and tropes was included in Johannes Susenbrotus’s *Epitome* in 1566, in which he defined tropes and figures (*figura, schemata*) as digressions from the normal type of speech. He furthermore distinguished between grammatical and rhetorical figures, of which grammatical figures (*figurae dictionum*) involved orthographic changes to words and syntactic alterations to sentences, while rhetorical figures (*figurae orationum*) were classified into word- and sentence-figures. Finally, Susenbrotus also incorporated Quintilian’s four amplification

<sup>86</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1921; repr. 1976), Book VIII. vi. 19, 310-11.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, Book VIII. vi. 40-76, 322-45.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*, Book IX. i. 11, 352-53.

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*, Book IX. i. 14, 354-55.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.*, Book IX. i. 15-25, 356-63.



figures (*figurae amplificationis*), which included *incrementum* (*auxesis*), *comparatio*, *rationcinatio*, and *congeries*.<sup>91</sup>

Under the influence of Susenbrotus's *Epitome*, Henry Peacham the Elder (1546-1634), dealing with the third branch of the rhetorical structure (*elocutio*) in *The Garden of Eloquence* (1593), presented "[...] the most exhaustive compendium of rhetorical schemes and tropes to be found in any English treatise on rhetoric, [enumerating] nineteen tropes and 128 schemes."<sup>92</sup> Much later, Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700-1766), the most significant German rhetorician of the late Baroque, in his influential treatises *Ausführliche Redekunst* and *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, classified the figures into word-figures (*figurae dictionis*) and sentence-figures (*figurae sententiarum*). He particularly noted that "the former are not all of equal value, for most of them are nothing but empty wordplay which produce nothing but a childish clatter and contain no fire of an affection."<sup>93</sup>

Based on the primary classical utilitarian function of the rhetorical figures, Quintilian considered them a means to move and convince an audience and stated:

Further, there is no more effective method of exciting the emotions than an apt use of figures. [...] *Figures* serve to commend what we say to those that hear us, whether we seek to win approval for our character as pleaders, or to win favour for the cause which we plead, to relieve monotony by variation of our language, or to indicate our meaning in the safest or most seemly way.<sup>94</sup>

In Susenbrotus's *Epitome*, the functional orientation of the figures gradually gave way to a more aesthetic and artistic virtue. Figures were now assigned a decorative role in speech and literature, namely

<sup>91</sup> Bartel, p. 70. The amplification figures are discussed by Quintilian in the fourth chapter of Book VIII of his *Institutio oratoria* (see Book VIII. iv. 3-28, 264-79).

<sup>92</sup> Gregory G. Butler, 'Music and Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English Sources', *The Musical Quarterly*, 66 (1980), 53-64 (p. 54).

<sup>93</sup> Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Ausführliche Redekunst nach Anleitung der Griechen und Römer wie auch der neuern Ausländer* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1736; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1973), p. 236, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 72.

<sup>94</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1976), Book IX. i. 21, 358-59.



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to relieve the irritation of everyday and worn-out language, to lend the oration greater delight, dignity, and elegance, to add greater force and charm to [the] subject, and finally to fortify [one's] writing or speaking in an unusual manner.<sup>95</sup>

However, it was in Gottsched's concept, and particularly in the late Baroque, that the figures were related to the portrayal of the affections. They were given the same function as facial expressions, which, like language, were external illustrations of inner emotions.<sup>96</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe described the figures as the 'language of the affections', since they were assigned a dual purpose, namely to portray the reigning affection and to arouse various affections in the heart of the listener. Johann Christoph Gottsched, discussing the figures' affective nature and potential, stressed that

the entire power of an oration is rooted in the figures, for they possess a certain fire, and through their magic throw a spark into the heart of the reader or listener, and similarly set them aflame.<sup>97</sup>

In summary, as has been argued throughout the discussion, the humanists' growing interest in language and linguistic principles during the Renaissance era resulted in a profound influence of the principles of rhetoric on musical thought. The emphasis on the musical expression of the text and on the developing interrelationships between music and rhetoric were widespread in all European Renaissance and Baroque music traditions, including those of Italy, England, and Germany. The German concept of *musica poetica* involved a procedure that sought to borrow rhetorical terminology in order to define musical devices. Music, like rhetoric, was considered a teachable discipline, which relied on rules that could be codified and transmitted. German *musica poetica* treatises emphasized the transfer of rhetorical principles to music and stressed the rhetorical formulation of musical composition. The musical form was to be

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<sup>95</sup> Johannes Susenbrotus, *Epitome troporum ac schematum et grammaticorum et rhetoricorum* (Antwerp, 1566), p. 49, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 71.

<sup>96</sup> Bartel, p. 72.

<sup>97</sup> Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst für die Deutschen* (Leipzig, 1751), p. 314, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 72.



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analyzed according to linguistic principles, thus revealing expressive properties and leading to the portrayal of the affections.

Under the influence of the Lutheran conception, which focused on the didactic purpose of the Word as a means of conveying God's message to the congregation, text and music were strongly related, and both were to teach and edify the audience by revealing the Christian Gospel. The arousal of the affections through the musical representation of the text, as first propagated by Luther, was considered the significant orientation of German *musica poetica*. This concept involved the adaptation of rhetorical structure and procedure, together with the emerging concept of musical-rhetorical figures. The interrelationships between rhetoric and music were further expedited through the curriculum of the Lutheran *Lateinschulen*, which placed musical discipline among the linguistic arts, thus leading to a decline of the speculative concept of music. Rhetoric and music were now established as 'two sister arts', and rhetorical terminology and methodology were adopted by the art of musical composition.

However, contrasting philosophies were also influential during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Italian, French, and English circles.<sup>98</sup> Italian and French composers and writers were mostly oriented towards the last two stages of the rhetorical structure dealing with memory (*memoratio*) and delivery (*actio* or *pronuntiatio*). This precluded any adaptation of linguistic articulation in order to define musical devices, as well as any discussion of the application of rhetorical compositional techniques to music. The model for composition turned out to be the natural affection-directed speech, rather than the rhetorically structured discourse. Italian writers and composers were particularly oriented towards the senses, the dramatic gesture, and the *pathos*-laden delivery, instead of defining musical phenomena in linguistic terms.

In France, music treatises during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attest to widespread knowledge of the principles of rhetoric, despite the fact that a

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<sup>98</sup> Bartel, pp. 59-64.



comprehensive system of musical-rhetorical figures was never formulated.<sup>99</sup> The Greco-Roman classical tradition had prevailed as a strong cohesive bond in countries such as France and Italy, and French composers were already competent users of rhetorical figures, although they were not concerned with a classification or codification of specific musical-rhetorical devices.<sup>100</sup> In the French tradition, rhetoric displayed a dual character, which included not only a functional aspect, but also a decorative one. The creators of the French drama focused on the *elocutio* part of the oration, which involved the apt use of eloquent language by the orator in order to 'move' the audience to certain emotions. The actor received the mantle of the orator, since, as Rameau stated in his *Traité de l' Harmonie*

A good musician should surrender himself to all the characters he wishes to portray. Like a skillful actor he should take the place of the speaker, believe himself to be at the location where the different events he wishes to depict occur, and participate in these events as do those most involved in them. He must declaim the text well, at least to himself, and he must feel when and to what degree the voice should rise or fall, so that he may shape his melody, harmony, modulation, and movement accordingly.<sup>101</sup>

In England, on the other hand, only a few treatises testify to the interrelationships between music and rhetoric. However, the importance of these references has generally been overlooked by musicologists, since they did not appear in music treatises, but in non-musical (rhetorical) writings.<sup>102</sup> Henry

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<sup>99</sup> Leslie Ellen Brown, 'Oratorical Thought and the *Tragédie Lyrique*: A Consideration of Musical-Rhetorical Figures', *College Music Symposium*, 20.2 (Autumn 1980), 99-116 (pp. 99-100).

<sup>100</sup> Despite the fact the L. E. Brown identifies a certain number of musical devices such as *tirata*, *anaphora*, *antitheton*, *hyperbole*, *pathopoeia*, *saltus duriusculus*, and *suspiratio* in French lyric drama, Bartel (*Musica Poetica*, 1997, p. 61) denounces the argument that these devices could be regarded as musical-rhetorical figures. According to Bartel, since there are no references regarding the compilation of musical-rhetorical treatises, one cannot presume that French composers were aware of the pertinent application of figures in Baroque music, even though a complete system of musical-rhetorical figures was never formulated. Even for the examination of musical-rhetorical figures in the *tragédie lyrique* L. E. Brown is based on Arnold Schmitz's article ('Figuren, musikalische-rhetorische', *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 4 (1949), 176-83), while no reference is given to a French musical-rhetorical treatise.

<sup>101</sup> Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Traité de l'Harmonie réduite à ses Principes naturels* (Paris: Jean-Baptiste Christophe Ballard, 1722; facsimile of the 1722 edition, New York: Broude Brothers, 1965); English translation: Jean-Philippe Rameau, *Treatise on Harmony*, trans. by Philip Gossett (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), p. 156.

<sup>102</sup> Butler, 'Music and Rhetoric', p. 53.



Peacham the Elder, Henry Peacham the Younger, and Thomas Wilson compiled significant treatises on rhetoric, although they did not adopt explicit rhetorical terminology, and did not refer to a systematic concept of musical-rhetorical figures. In fact, figures of repetition were frequently cited, and Henry Peacham the Elder, first in his treatise *The Garden of Eloquence*<sup>103</sup> described three figures of word repetition (*symploce*, *epizeuxis*, *traductio*)<sup>104</sup> “[...] as being notable for their pleasure and sweetness of sound.”<sup>105</sup> He additionally identified one figure related to separation or articulation (*articulus*),<sup>106</sup> which involved the unexpected break up of a speech by pauses indicated by commas that could be closely linked with music and produce certain affects.<sup>107</sup>

Henry Peacham the Younger, in his work *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1626-27) referred to figures such as *antistrophe*, *anaphora*, and *antimetabole*, of which the *antistrophe* and the *antimetabole* involved the inversion of word order in a sentence.<sup>108</sup> These figures in their musical equivalents (*revert*, *report*, and *counterchange of parts*) were applied to fugal procedures in the second half of the sixteenth century, as they appeared in Thomas Morley’s treatise *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (1597).<sup>109</sup> In particular, the rhetorical figure *antimetabole* was also discussed by George Puttenham in his *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), where he defined it

<sup>103</sup> Henry Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence* (London: H. Jackson, 1577; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1593; facs. repr. Gainesville, FL: W. G. Crane, 1954; Menston: Scolar Press, 1971).

<sup>104</sup> *Symploce* or *complexio* involved the repetition of both the first and last word in a succession of phrases, *epizeuxis* or *subjunctio* referred to the vehement repetition of the same word without the interposition of any other, while *traductio* was defined as a form of speech in which one word was repeated a number of times in one sentence, making the oration more pleasant to the ear. See Lee A. Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968), pp. 47-48, 174-75, and 178-79, with a detailed list of all definitions of Greek and Latin rhetorical figures that appear in English sources.

<sup>105</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric’, pp. 54-55.

<sup>106</sup> Also known as *incisum* or *comma* (see Sonnino, p. 111).

<sup>107</sup> Butler, p. 56.

<sup>108</sup> *Antistrophe* (*hypallage*) involved the “[...] inversion of word order in a sentence to produce a contrary”, *anaphora* (*repetitio*) implied the reiteration of the same word at the beginning of successive sentences, while *antimetabole* (*commutatio*) referred to “[...] an exact exchange or interchange of two elements, each of which occupied the other’s place in the transformed phrase or sentence” (Butler, pp. 58-59).

<sup>109</sup> Thomas Morley, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practicall Musicke* (London, 1597); facs. repr. Shakespeare Association Facsimiles, 14 (Oxford University Press, for the Shakespeare Association, 1937).



as “a figure which takes a couple of words to play with in a verse and by making them to change and shift one into others place they do very prettily exchange and shift the sense.”<sup>110</sup>

Henry Peacham the Younger also referred to the rhetorical figure *prosopopoeia*, “[...] a type of vivid personification in which the inner thoughts and feelings of a fictitious or absent person are presented in such a convincing fashion that the audience is made to believe that that person is present in the person of the orator.”<sup>111</sup> He also related *prosopopoeia* to the ‘passionate airs’ inherent to the affective delivery of the early seventeenth-century song.<sup>112</sup> *Prosopopoeia* belongs to the group of rhetorical figures known as *hypotyposis* figures, which referred to the singer’s task to identify closely with the character portrayed, in order to achieve a highly affective utterance (*pronuntiatio*) and arouse the emotions of the audience. In order to accomplish this task, the singer should first comprehend the words and the related music, arousing, by these means, in the heart of the listener the passions reflected by the text.<sup>113</sup> This was stressed by Emilio de Cavalieri, who, in 1600, stated:

Let the singer have a beautiful voice with good intonation, and well supported, and let him sing with expression, soft and loud, and without passagework; and in particular he should express the words well, so that they may be understood, and accompany them with gestures and

<sup>110</sup> George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (London: Field, 1589); repr. ed by G. D. Willcock and A. Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936; 1970), p. 208, cited in Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric*, p. 42. See also Robin Headlam Wells, ‘The Ladder of Love: Verbal and Musical Rhetoric in the Elizabethan Lute-Song’, *Early Music*, 12 (May 1984), 173-88 (p. 176).

<sup>111</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric’, pp. 59-60. See also Sonnino, pp. 54-56. For a detailed analysis of the *prosopopoeia*, particularly when related to funeral music, see Gregory S. Johnston, ‘Musical-Rhetorical Prosopopoeia and the Animation of the Dead in Seventeenth-Century German Funeral Music’, *Canadian University Music Review*, 10 (1990), 12-39; and by the same author, ‘Rhetorical Personification of the Dead in 17<sup>th</sup>-Century German Funeral Music: Heinrich Schütz’s *Musikalische Exequien* (1636) and Three Works by Michael Wiedemann (1693)’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 9.2 (Spring 1991), 186-213.

<sup>112</sup> “Yea, in my opinion no rhetoric more persuadeth or hath greater power over the mind; nay, hath not music her figures, the same which rhetoric? What is a revert but her antistrophe? her reports, but sweet anaphoras? her counterchange of points, antimetaboles? her passionate airs, but prosopopoeias? with infinite other of the same nature” (Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, as it appears in Strunk, p. 337).

<sup>113</sup> Robert Toft, ‘Musicke a Sister to Poetrie: Rhetorical Artifice in the Passionate Airs of John Dowland’, *Early Music*, 12 (May 1984), 191-99 (p. 191).



movements, not only of the hands but of other gestures that are efficacious aids in moving the affections.<sup>114</sup>

Moreover, the psychological effect of another figure named as *praeter expectatum* was included by the philosopher Francis Bacon in his encyclopedic work *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627). Bacon related the anticipation of the expectations of an audience to the anticipation of the resolution of the cadences, a concept also discussed by Thomas Wilson in his *The Art of Rhetoric* (1553).<sup>115</sup>

Finally, in the one and only musical source, entitled *The Principles of Musik* (1636),<sup>116</sup> Charles Butler devoted a section to graces or ornaments, listing *consecutio*, *syncope*, *fuga*, and *formality* together with their musical counterparts: *climax* or *gradatio*, *syncopa*, *reply* (*revert* or *report*) - *formality* did not refer to a specific musical figure. The first of these ornaments (*consecutio*) was related to a grammatical disposition that involved the logical placing of one thing after the other. Its musical equivalent, the *climax* or *gradatio*, referred, according to Butler (1636), to consonant intervals following one another.<sup>117</sup> In rhetoric, *climax* or *gradatio* described a construction of a speech, in which the last word of a phrase usually became the first of the following one.<sup>118</sup> However, in musical terms, *climax* referred to the repetition of a certain sequence of notes at higher or lower pitches, or to two voices moving in ascending or descending parallel motion.<sup>119</sup>

On the other hand, the term *syncope* (*concisio*), according to Susenbrotus, occurred when a letter or syllable was removed from the middle of a word.<sup>120</sup> According to Burmeister, *syncopa* (*synaeresis*) occurred in music when a note was divided into two parts and then compacted into a whole;<sup>121</sup> in other words, it

<sup>114</sup> Preface to *Rappresentazione di anima, et di corpo* (Rome, 1600; repr. 1967); trans. by C. MacClintock, *Readings in the History of Music in Performance* (Bloomington, 1979), p. 183, cited in Toft, 'Musicke a Sister to Poetrie', p. 192. See also Colette Henshaw, 'Music, Figure and Affection in Baroque Performance', *The Consort*, 54 (Summer 1998), 33-42 (p. 35).

<sup>115</sup> Butler, 'Music and Rhetoric', pp. 60-61.

<sup>116</sup> Charles Butler, *The Principles of Musik* (London, 1636; repr. New York: Da Capo, 1970).

<sup>117</sup> Butler, 'Music and Rhetoric', p. 62.

<sup>118</sup> Sonnino, pp. 101-02; see also Bartel, pp. 222-24 with references to Quintilian and Susenbrotus.

<sup>119</sup> Bartel, p. 220.

<sup>120</sup> For instance, Hercules instead of Hercules (Sonnino, pp. 205-06).

<sup>121</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 170-71. For the definitions of *synaeresis* and *syncope*, as related to suspensions with dissonances and the consequent rhythmic and harmonic displacements, see Bartel, pp. 394-405.



described a fusion of two parts into one. Moreover, the term *fuga* to which Charles Butler (1636) referred as *reply* (*report* or *revert*) was related, according to Francis Bacon, to the rhetorical figure *traductio* or *polyptoton*.<sup>122</sup> Peacham the Elder described *traductio* as “a form of speech which repeateth one word often times in one sentence, making the oration more pleasant to the ear [...]. This exornation is compared to pleasant repetitions and divisions in music.”<sup>123</sup> *Polyptoton* (the alternative term to *traductio*) involved, according to Quintilian, “the repetition of a stem word with a variation of cases [...]”<sup>124</sup> The application of this term to *fuga* suggests probably a fugal subject with slight alterations in many cases, such as melodic changes (tonal answer), rhythmic changes (*canzona*), and transpositions.<sup>125</sup> Although English authors did not refer to specific rhetorical terminology in order to distinguish between tonal and real fugal answer, it was the Germans who understood *repercussio* as tonal fugal answer, and *polyptoton* and *palilogia* as real fugal answers.<sup>126</sup>

The last figure (*formality*) was more related to the arrangement of the oration, and specifically to the *dispositio* (musical *dispositio*), the second and most important branch of the rhetorical structure.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, although Charles Butler (1636) referred to a composition's *exordium* and *finis*, he did not develop a complete system of musical-rhetorical implications, as was done by J. Burmeister and the whole generation of seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century German authors.

However, despite these references which undoubtedly attest to a significant interaction between music and rhetoric in Italy, France and England, it was in Germany that the appropriate theological and historical circumstances favoured the establishment of *musica poetica* and a cohesive concept of musical-rhetorical figures. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed the publication of many treatises by German theorists in their attempt to employ Greek and Latin

<sup>122</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric’, p. 61. For a complete discussion of fugue and rhetorical terms, see Gregory G. Butler, ‘Fugue and Rhetoric’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 21.1 (1977), 49-109.

<sup>123</sup> Peacham, *The Garden of Eloquence*, p. 49, cited in Sonnino, p. 179.

<sup>124</sup> Sonnino, p. 24.

<sup>125</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric’, p. 62.

<sup>126</sup> Bartel, p. 281.

<sup>127</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric’, pp. 63-64.



rhetorical terminology for musical-rhetorical devices. Dietrich Bartel (1985), in his comprehensive work *Handbuch der musikalischen Figurenlehre* (English translation enlarged as *Musica Poetica*, 1997) listed all the various treatises together with a complete enumeration of the musical-rhetorical figures, as defined by different authors. These included J. Burmeister, J. Nucius, J. Thuringus, A. Kircher, C. Bernhard, J. G. Ahle, T. B. Janovka, W. C. Printz, J. G. Walther, M. J. Vogt, J. Mattheson, J. A. Scheibe, M. Spiess and J. N. Forkel.<sup>128</sup> However, the abundance of treatises on musical-rhetorical figures resulted, unavoidably, in discrepancies between different authors regarding definitions of the terms, and no one can claim that a systematic doctrine of musical-rhetorical figures existed during the Baroque period.

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<sup>128</sup> Joachim Burmeister, *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1599); *Musica autoschediastikē* (Rostock: C. Reusner, 1601); *Musica poetica* (Rostock: S. Myliander, 1606; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1955); Johannes Nucius, *Musices poeticae sive de compositione cantus praeceptiones* (Neisse: C. Scharffenberg, 1613; repr. Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1976); Joachim Thuringus, *Opusculum bipartitum de primordiis musicis* (Berlin: G. Runge, 1624; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1625); Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1650; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970); Christoph Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus: Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien*; new ed. in *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Chr. Bernhard*, ed. by Joseph M. Müller-Blattau (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963); Johann Georg Ahle, *Musikalisches Frühlings-, Sommer-, Herbst-, und Winter-Gespräche* (Mühlhausen: C. Pauli und T. Brückner, 1695-1701); Tomáš Baltasar Janovka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae* (Prague: Georg Labaun, 1701; repr. Amsterdam: F. Knuf, 1973); Wolfgang C. Printz, *Phrynus Mytilenaeus oder satyrischer Componist* (Dresden & Leipzig: J. C. Mieth and J. C. Zimmermann, 1696); Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec* (Leipzig: Wolfgang Deer, 1732); Faksimile-Nachdruck herausgegeben von Richard Schaal: Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles, 3 (Kassel/ Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953); *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar, 1708; repr. ed. by P. Benary: Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 2; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955); Mauritius Vogt, *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (Prague: G. Labaun, 1719); Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739); Faksimile-Nachdruck herausgegeben von Margarete Reimann: Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles, 5 (Kassel/ Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1954); Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (Hamburg, 1738; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1740; Leipzig, 1745; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970); Meinrad Spiess, *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (Augsburg: J. J. Lotter Heirs, 1745); Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, 2 vols (Göttingen, 1788, 1801; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1967). For a list of the most frequently cited musical figures (gathered in seven categories) illustrated with examples, see Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, pp. 264-68. The most complete enumeration of musical figures, including definitions of terms, illustrations with musical examples (wherever possible), and summaries by category and by author was supplied by Dietrich Bartel in his *Musica Poetica* (1997), pp. 167-457.



The early *musica poetica* treatises considered musical-rhetorical figures expressive musical devices, which tended to deviate from normal musical syntax in order to elaborate and represent effectively the words and the associated text. They were initially oriented towards the expression of the text, and many figures cited in early seventeenth-century sources (such as Burmeister's, Nucius's, and Thuringus's treatises) demonstrate the text's dominating role and the composers' attempts to regard figures as digressions, contrary to the rules of imitative counterpoint.<sup>129</sup>

Born in Lüneburg, Joachim Burmeister (1564-1629) attended the local *Lateinschule*, where his teachers included Christoph Praetorius and Euricius Dedekind, while he was instructed in the art of rhetoric by the vice-rector Lucas Lossius. After completing his studies at the Rostock University he was appointed cantor at St Marien Church in Rostock and, at the same time, teacher at the *Gymnasium*, where his duties included the teaching of music and Latin.<sup>130</sup> Influenced by the spirit of his era, Burmeister considered the art of musical composition a humanistic discipline and "[...] a consequential outgrowth of rhetoric."<sup>131</sup> Being equally familiar with music and rhetoric, Burmeister formulated a pedagogical method by developing a complete system that approached musical analysis and composition through the application of rhetorical terminology, while he described expressive musical devices through the adaptation of rhetorical figures.

Reflecting the Lutheran tradition of *praeceptum*, *exemplum*, and *imitatio*, Burmeister stressed the importance of learning through imitation, and listed twelve composers worthy of emulation among whom he included Johann Dressler, Clemens non Papa, and Orlando di Lasso.<sup>132</sup> Most of Burmeister's *Musica poetica* (1606) is closely linked to Zarlino's theories regarding the composition of any sort of vocal music. This involved the underlying meaning of

<sup>129</sup> Bartel, pp. 84-85.

<sup>130</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 93-94. See also Leon W. Couch III, p. 15.

<sup>131</sup> Albrecht, p. 36.

<sup>132</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. xlvii-l. See also Howard Mayer Brown, 'Emulation, Competition, and Homage: Imitation and Theories of Imitation in the Renaissance', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 35.1 (Spring 1982), 1-48.



the text and the comprehension of its inherent affections, together with the identification of the appropriate mode.<sup>133</sup> Apart from the citation of late sixteenth-century vocal works, Burmeister, as already mentioned, first identified rhetorical figures and applied rhetorical structure to Lassus's motet *In me transierunt*, demonstrating how specific musical figures could create an effect similar to that of a successful oration.

During his years in Rostock, Burmeister compiled three significant Latin *musica poetica* treatises; *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae* in 1599, *Musica autoschediastikē* in 1601 (an expanded version of *Hypomnematum*), and *Musica poetica* in 1606. As a teacher and cantor, Burmeister discussed issues of performance in his *Musica autoschediastikē*, and referred to the singer's objective to portray the meaning of the song. Some of the terms used imply his rhetorical thinking, as, for instance, *ornatus* and *gestus*, which were related to the position of the body for what was to be expressed.<sup>134</sup> According to rhetorical tradition, as formulated by Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria*, gestures constituted a fundamental part of rhetorical delivery, and were related to the *pronunciatio affectuosa*, in other words, the affective voice of the orator/ singer, which would result in the effective delivery of the oratory/ song.<sup>135</sup>

In his *Musica poetica*, Burmeister consolidated material from the two previous treatises, and enlarged it by presenting a complete list of musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>136</sup> In the twelfth chapter, he defined a musical figure as

[...] a passage, in harmony as well as in melody, which is contained within a definite period that begins from a cadence and ends in a cadence; it departs from the simple method of composition, and with elegance [*virtus*] assumes and adopts a more ornate character.<sup>137</sup>

Furthermore, Burmeister enumerated twenty-six musical figures, which he classified into three categories. In the first category, which included harmonic figures that involved more than one voice (*figurae harmoniae*), Burmeister listed

<sup>133</sup> Leon W. Couch III, p. 15.

<sup>134</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 47.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

<sup>136</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. xiii-lxii.

<sup>137</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 154-57.



*fuga realis*, *metalepsis*, *hypallage*, *apocope*, *noëma*, *analepsis*, *mimesis*, *anadiplosis*, *symblema*, *syncopa* or *synaeresis*, *pleonasmus*, *auxesis*, *pathopoeia*, *hypotyposis*, *aposiopesis*, and *anaploce*. The second branch comprised melodic figures (*figurae melodiae*) that were presented by a single voice, and consisted of *parembole*, *palilogia*, *climax*, *parrhesia*, *hyperbole*, and *hypobole*. The last category embraced figures that did not belong solely to either of the others, namely ornaments common to harmony and melody (*figurae tam harmoniae quam melodiae*), and included *congeries* (*synathroismus*), *faux bourdon* (*simul procedentia*), *anaphora*, and *fuga imaginaria*.<sup>138</sup>

Reflecting the traditional rhetorical division of figures into word-figures (*figurae dictionum*) and sentence-figures (*figurae sententiarum*), Burmeister drew the parallel between *figurae harmoniae* and *figurae sententiarum*, on the one hand, and *figurae melodiae* and *figurae dictionum*, on the other.<sup>139</sup> Harmonic figures, similar to rhetorical sentence-figures, involved all voices and affected the whole structure of a composition. According to Burmeister, “[...] an ornament of harmony [is] a harmonic period consisting of any number of voices [that] adopts a new character that is incompatible with a simple arrangement consisting purely of consonances.”<sup>140</sup> On the other hand, melodic figures were applied to one individual voice, and like word-figures, did not affect the entire structure of a composition.<sup>141</sup>

In ancient oratory, figures were the artistic means employed by the orator in order to deviate from ordinary speech. Accordingly, Burmeister’s figures were considered expressive devices suitable to underline the meaning of the text and tools indispensable for musical construction.<sup>142</sup> Many of his figures were given names borrowed directly from rhetoric, maintaining a strong bond with the

<sup>138</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 156-57.

<sup>139</sup> Leon W. Couch III, p. 15.

<sup>140</sup> “Harmoniae est, quo periodus aliqua harmoniae ex quotenis etiam ea confecta sit vocibus, novum induit habitum, alienum a simplici consonantiarum absolutarum nexu” (*Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 156-57).

<sup>141</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 156-57: “Melodiae ornamentum est, quod unicae saltem voci ornatum addit.” See also Bartel, pp. 97-98.

<sup>142</sup> Benito V. Rivera and Martin Ruhnke, ‘Burmeister, Joachim’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ii, pp. 635-37 (p. 636).



original literal meaning, while in other cases musical terms were coined to emulate rhetorical ones.<sup>143</sup> For instance, in his *Musica poetica*, Burmeister defined *hypotyposis* as “[...] that ornament whereby the sense of the text is so depicted that those matters contained in the text that are inanimate or lifeless seem to be brought to life.”<sup>144</sup> Accordingly, Quintilian in his *Institutio oratoria* stated: “others give the name of *υποτύπωσις* to any representation of facts which is made in such vivid language that they appeal to the eye rather than the ear.”<sup>145</sup> The *hypotyposis* devices involved a large class of musical-rhetorical figures, which served to embellish words or poetic ideas in such a stirring way that the text was illustrated in a realistic and lifelike manner.

In another case, the term *faux bourdon* (also known as *catachresis* or *simul procedentia*) was adopted by Burmeister to describe a musical passage moving in successive sixth-chord progressions in three voices.<sup>146</sup> Although the term is not a rhetorical one, Burmeister was inspired by Greek rhetorical labels known as *homostichaonta* and *homiokineomena*, which described a “simultaneous progression” or motion, and named the figure with the term *simul procedentia* (supplying also the Greek translation of the Latin term).<sup>147</sup>

Although Burmeister focused on figures related to the expression of the meaning of the text, and particularly on figures of imitation and repetition, the arousal of the affections is already integral to his understanding. For example, the musical figure *noema* is described in his *Musica poetica* as a homophonic passage (*harmonia*) that “[...] is most agreeably stimulating and wonderfully soothing on

<sup>143</sup> Leon W. Couch III, p. 15.

<sup>144</sup> *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 174-75.

<sup>145</sup> “Ab aliis *υποτύπωσις* dicitur proposita quaedam forma rerum ita expressa verbis, ut cerni potius videatur quam audiri” (Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1976), Book IX. ii. 38-40, 396-97).

<sup>146</sup> For the definition of the *faux bourdon*, see Bartel, pp. 271-77. See also *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 184-85, with a footnote quoting Lossius’s definition.

<sup>147</sup> Bartel’s translation of the original passage seems more comprehensive than Palisca’s: “*Simul procedentia* or [*simul*] *mota*, that is *homostichaonta* or *homiokineomena* [simultaneous progression], known as *faux bourdon* in French, consists of a progression of major or minor thirds and fourths in three voices, all of the same duration and moving in parallel motion. An example is found in Orlando’s *Omnia quae fecisti nobis Domine* at the text *peccavimus tibi*” (Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, p. 65, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 274).



the ears and spirit if it is appropriately introduced [...].”<sup>148</sup> He furthermore stressed that the *noema* should be identified within the contrapuntal texture of a composition and not as a homophonic passage per se.<sup>149</sup> Moreover, *pathopoeia* was considered a particularly expressive device, a figure suited for the arousal of passionate affections through the use of chromatic notes foreign to the *modus* of the composition. Its rhetorical counterpart referred to the “excitement of the passions”, to a variety of affections elicited due to specific circumstances, such as gender, time, places, and persons.<sup>150</sup>

The concept of musical-rhetorical figures was further developed through the treatises of Johannes Nucius (1556-1620) and Joachim Thuringus (his dates are unknown), who were both influenced by the writings of Joachim Burmeister. While Burmeister classified figures into *figurae harmoniae*, *figurae melodiae*, and *figurae tam harmoniae quam melodiae*, Nucius, in the seventh chapter of his *Musices poeticae* (1612), introduced the bipartite division of figures into *principales* and *minus principales*.<sup>151</sup> As *figurae principales* Nucius listed *fuga*, *commissura* (passing note dissonance), and *repetitio*. Both *fuga* and passing note were considered the oldest unique compositional devices without rhetorical counterparts, most suitable for the elaboration of a musical composition; in the *figurae minus principales* Nucius enumerated *climax*, *complexio*, *homoteleuton*, and *syncopatio*.<sup>152</sup>

Joachim Thuringus, in his *Opusculum bipartitum* (Berlin, 1624) adopted Nucius’s classification of the musical-rhetorical figures into *principales* and *minus principales* with specific additions and alterations. Much of Thuringus’s *Opusculum* relied heavily on Nucius’s and Burmeister’s treatises, while he also

<sup>148</sup> Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, p. 59, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 341. For the same passage, see also *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, pp. 164-65. Bartel’s translation is closer to the original text, since he correctly translates the Latin phrase *harmoniae affectio* as *harmonia*, and not as a harmonic affection (as translated by Benito Rivera). For the term affection and its employment by Burmeister in a musical piece see p. 17 of this chapter.

<sup>149</sup> Bartel, p. 340.

<sup>150</sup> Benito Rivera quotes Lossius’s definition of the *pathopoeia*; see *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, p. 175.

<sup>151</sup> The same classification was adopted by Joachim Thuringus and Athanasius Kircher, while Christoph Bernhard and Johann Gottfried Walther substituted the terms *figurae fundamentales* and *figurae superficiales* for the above categories.

<sup>152</sup> Bartel, pp. 100-01.



provided a list of the mostly German authorities from which he obtained his material.<sup>153</sup> In the *figurae principales*, Thuringus listed *fuga*, *commissura*, and *syncopatio* (instead of Nucius's *repetitio*), while he expanded on Nucius's *figurae minus principales* and enumerated *climax* (*gradatio*), *complexio*, *repetitio* (*mimesis*), *pausa*, *anaphora*, *catachresis* (*faux bourdon*), *noema*, *parthopoeia*, *parrhisia*, *aposiopesis* (*homioptoton* and *homioteleuton*), *paragoge*, and *apocope*.<sup>154</sup>

Influenced by Joachim Burmeister, Nucius and Thuringus employed rhetorical terminology to explain certain compositional procedures.<sup>155</sup> Nucius particularly stressed the function of musical figures as important elements that, by analogy with rhetorical figures and tropes, could embellish and enhance a musical composition. He also observed that the first composer to incorporate musical-figurative language into his music was John Dunstable, and mentioned a number of composers who referred to close musical-rhetorical relationships, including Binchois, Josquin, Gombert, Clemens non Papa, and Verdelot.<sup>156</sup> Both Nucius and Thuringus referred to the figures' purpose as being oriented towards the excitement of the listeners. For that purpose, Nucius, in his *Musices poeticae*, included a list of forty affective words (*verba affectuum*), among which were words dealing with human dimensions (rejoicing, weeping, fearing, lamenting, bewailing, mourning, raging, laughing, and pitying); words of motion and placing (standing, running, leaping, lifting); adverbs of speed and number (quickly, fast, soon, slowly), as well as words related to parts of the day (night, day, light, darkness) that were to be expressed musically through variety of notes.<sup>157</sup>

<sup>153</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Thuringus, Joachim', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxv, pp. 437-38 (p. 437).

<sup>154</sup> Bartel, pp. 105 and 452. See also Fritz Feldmann, 'Das "Opusculum bipartitum" des Joachim Thuringus (1625) besonders in seinen Beziehungen zu Joh. Nucius (1613)', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 15 (1958), 123-42.

<sup>155</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Nucius, Johannes', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xviii, pp. 228-29 (p. 228).

<sup>156</sup> Buelow, 'Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory', p. 42.

<sup>157</sup> Bartel, pp. 23-24 and 102. See also Buelow, 'Nucius, Johannes', p. 228. In the last case, regarding words related to parts of the day, Nucius suggested that they be expressed through black or white notes.



As in the case of Burmeister, the musical-rhetorical figures' role of arousing the affections is only periodically encountered in the treatises of Nucius and Thuringus. Nucius's motets, particularly, demonstrate affective musical devices employed to illustrate words and phrases and to heighten the emotional content of the text.<sup>158</sup> Focusing more on the close interrelationships between text and music, Nucius and Thuringus tried to establish a musical-rhetorical language similar to the rhetorical concept of the figures. Musical figures were considered not only "*ad imitationem poetarum*" (in imitation of the poets), but also elements that would lend musical oration *varietatem* and *elegantiam*.<sup>159</sup>

However, while the main focus of musical-rhetorical figures was initially on the representation of the text, the text gradually gave way to the portrayal of the affections. It was in 1650 that Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680),<sup>160</sup> the Jesuit theologian and mathematician, diffused into German circles the figures' power to evoke the affections through his treatise *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (Rome, 1650), shifting the emphasis to the expressive concept of musical-rhetorical figures. Kircher's *Musurgia universalis* represented a "[...] compendium of musical facts and speculation that is still essential to an understanding of 17th-century music and music theory."<sup>161</sup> Additionally, he considered music an essential part of the mathematical *quadrivium* and musical harmony a reflection of God's harmony,<sup>162</sup> supporting medieval scholastic thought that viewed the cosmos in mathematical ratios. In his encyclopedic work, Kircher leaned heavily on Zarlino's contrapuntal doctrines, and sought to "[...] synthesize theoretical thought of the medieval and Renaissance worlds, German and Italian music, and to impose a rationality on all musical procedures."<sup>163</sup>

<sup>158</sup> Buelow, 'Nucius, Johannes', pp. 228-29.

<sup>159</sup> Bartel, p. 103.

<sup>160</sup> John Fletcher, 'Athanasius Kircher and his "Musurgia Universalis" (1650)', *Musicology*, 7 (1982), 73-83.

<sup>161</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Kircher, Athanasius', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xiii, pp. 618-20 (p. 619).

<sup>162</sup> Buelow, 'Kircher, Athanasius', p. 619.

<sup>163</sup> Buelow, 'Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory', p. 42.



As a natural scientist, Kircher delved into the field of human pathology, including the study of the affections, and related the concept of *musica pathetica* to the affective nature of the rhetorical doctrine.<sup>164</sup> He furthermore discussed rhetorical structure and musical-rhetorical figures, and, based on sociological and national characteristics, he classified musical styles into three major categories. The first classification involved the individual styles that referred to the four humours and temperaments, a theory established in ancient times by Galen. Kircher specifically defined the traditional human temperaments by referring not only to the four humours inherent in the human body, but also to the so-called 'animal spirits' (*spiritus animalis*) or 'inner air', which circulated in the nerves of the brain and were agitated by the sound of music.<sup>165</sup> The second category included the social or national styles which expressed the national characteristics of various leading musical countries, including Italy, France, and Germany. Finally, the third classification referred to the functional styles, which were divided into nine separate sections; these were determined by specific functions (dance, theatre, church music), technical principles (canonic or melismatic style), and musical forms (motet and madrigal). The functional styles were later summarized by Kircher in Book 5 of his *Musurgia universalis* into three concepts: *stylus ecclesiasticus*, *stylus theatralis*, and *stylus madrigalescus*, a distinction that leaned heavily on N. Vicentino (1553) and M. Scacchi (1643).<sup>166</sup>

Regarding musical-rhetorical figures, Kircher drew the parallel between figures in music and rhetorical figures and tropes, when he stated:

Our musical figures are and function like the embellishments, tropes, and the varied manners of speech in rhetoric. For just as the orator moves the listener through an artful arrangement of tropes, now to laughter, now to tears, then suddenly to pity, at times to indignation and rage, occasionally to love, piety, and righteousness, or to other such contrasting affections, so too music [moves the listener] through an artful combination of the musical phrases and passages [...].<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Bartel, p. 106.

<sup>165</sup> Neubauer, p. 46.

<sup>166</sup> Bukofzer, p. 391; see also Fletcher, pp. 76-77.

<sup>167</sup> Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Book 5, Chapter 19, p. 366, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 107.



Continuing his discussion of musical-rhetorical figures (Book 5, entitled *De symphoniurgia*, chapter 19), Kircher maintained Nucius's and Thuringus's two-fold classifications into *figurae principales* and *minus principales*.<sup>168</sup> Most of the figures were discussed in Book 5 (*De symphoniurgia*), while others were defined in Book 8 of *Musurgia universalis*, entitled *Musica mirifica*. While earlier authors focused on the application of rhetorical terminology in musical devices with a view to enhancing musical composition, Kircher's understanding is determined by the consideration of the figures as affective devices suitable for the arousal of the affections. In his attempt to link musical figures closely to the art of rhetoric, Kircher used mostly Greek terminology, even for figures that were uniquely musical, without rhetorical counterparts. However, despite the definitions given, most figures were explicitly related either to the expression of the text, or to a highlight of a specific affection.<sup>169</sup>

Influenced by German thought, Kircher introduced in his work the rhetorical structure and the study of musical-rhetorical figures in order to achieve "[...] an emotionally expressive yet rationally controlled musical style."<sup>170</sup> In a chapter entitled *De partibus rhetoricae musurgica* he emphasized the correlation between rhetoric and music by applying the rhetorical division of an oration into *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* to a musical composition.<sup>171</sup> Discussing the rhetorical *elocutio*, Kircher expanded on the application of musical-rhetorical figures and the expression of the affections, which he divided into three basic categories: joyful, pious or subdued, and sad.<sup>172</sup> He then enumerated eight typical affections; *amor* (love), *luctus seu planctus* (mourning or lamentation), *laetitia et exulatio*

<sup>168</sup> *Figurae principales* included *fuga*, *commissura*, and *syncopatio* (the same listed by Thuringus), while in *figurae minus principales* Kircher listed *pausa*, *repetitio*, *climax* (*gradatio*), *symploce* (*complexus*), *anaphora*, *catachresis*, *noema*, *prosopopoeia*, *parrhesia*, *aposiopesis*, *paragoge*, *apocope*, *stenasmus* (*suspiratio*), *homoiototon* (*similiter desinens*), *antitheton* (*contrapositum*), *anabasis* (*ascensio*), *catabasis* (*descensus*), *kyklosis* (*circulatio*), *fuga in alio sensu*, *homoiosis* (*assimilatio*), and *abruptio* (see Bartel, pp. 106-11).

<sup>169</sup> Bartel, pp. 106-08.

<sup>170</sup> Buelow, 'Kircher, Athanasius', p. 619.

<sup>171</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 262. Both Gallus Dressler (*exordium*, *medium*, *finis*) and Joachim Burmeister (*exordium*, *ipsum corpus carminis*, *finis*) had already referred to the threefold division of a speech and to the application of the rhetorical steps to musical composition (see pages 5 and 17-18 of this chapter).

<sup>172</sup> Bartel, pp. 76 and 108. See also Buelow, 'Kircher, Athanasius', pp. 618-20.



(joy and exultation), *furor et indignatio* (rage and indignation), *commiseratio et lacryma* (pity and weeping), *timor et afflictio* (fear and pain), *praesumptio et audacia* (presumption and audacity), and *admiratio* (admiration).<sup>173</sup> He also cited the twelve church modes which he associated with particular affections, while in one of his chapters entitled *Quomodo numerus harmonicus affectus moveat* (How the harmonic numbers move the affects), he sought to relate the theory of musical intervals to that of the affections.<sup>174</sup>

Kircher identified his concept of figures as an indispensable part of the *stylus recitativus*, which focused on *musica pathetica*, together with the theory of the affections and temperaments. Although still retaining many of the older order of ideas, such as the cosmological concept of music, Kircher, and after him Christoph Bernhard, attempted to incorporate new Italian styles with the affective and text expressive quality of *musica poetica*.<sup>175</sup>

The affection-oriented character of *musica poetica*, as established by Athanasius Kircher, influenced the Czech lexicographer and organist Tomáš Baltazar Janovka (1669-1741), who in 1701 compiled the *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae*, “[...] the first musical dictionary to appear in the Baroque period.”<sup>176</sup> Janovka’s publication covered the definition of approximately one hundred and seventy terms, which were arranged alphabetically according to broad subjects. In defining and explaining the musical terms, Janovka drew on his predecessors, particularly on Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (1650), while “his definitions are more correct and precise than those of Kircher.”<sup>177</sup> In his *Clavis ad thesaurum*, Janovka emphasized subjects related to the organ and church music, while in one of his articles entitled *Figurae musicae* he distinguished between

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<sup>173</sup> Bartel, p. 48.

<sup>174</sup> *ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>175</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 110-11; also Buelow, ‘Symposium on Seventeenth-Century Music Theory’, p. 42. Kircher’s early years in Rome were greatly influential in relation to the compilation of the *Musurgia universalis* (Fletcher, ‘Athanasius Kircher’, p. 73).

<sup>176</sup> John Clapham and Tomislav Volek, ‘Janovka, Tomáš Baltazar’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xii, p. 809.

<sup>177</sup> *ibid.*, p. 809.



*figurae principales* and *figurae minus principales*.<sup>178</sup> Although Janovka did not attribute affective characteristics to the twelve church modes as Kircher did,<sup>179</sup> he stressed the figures' role in arousing the affections:

[...] The musical figures consist of certain musical passages in which specific affections of the soul are manifested, for example, love, joy, ferocity, violence, dignity, modesty, moderation, piety, compassion, et cetera.<sup>180</sup>

Contemporary with Tomáš Baltazar Janovka was Mauritius Vogt (1669-1730), a Bohemian composer and theorist,<sup>181</sup> who published his comprehensive musical treatise *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* in 1719. After dealing with historical and speculative matters (including a section on the organ and organ building), church modes, and aspects of polyphonic music in the first three parts of his *Conclave*, Vogt discussed two classifications of the musical-rhetorical figures: *figurae simplices* (embracing vocal and instrumental embellishments) and *figurae ideales* (incorporating musical-rhetorical figures).<sup>182</sup>

<sup>178</sup> Following Kircher's classifications, *figurae principales* included *fuga*, *commissura*, and *syncopatio*, while as *minus principales* Janovka listed *pausa*, *stenasmus* (*suspiratio*), *anaphora* (*repetitio*), *climax* (*gradatio*), *complexus*, *similiter desinens*, *antitheton* (*contrapositum*), *anabasis* (*ascensio*), *catabasis* (*descensus*), *circulatio*, *fuga alio sensu*, *assimilatio*, and *abruptio*. Other figures mentioned in other parts of the dictionary included: *hyperbatus*, *hypobatus*, *falso bordone* (*pleonasmus*), *accentus* (*Einfall*), *colloratura* (*diminutiones* or *passagae*), *coulé*, *harpegiatura*, *tirata*, *tremulo*, and *trilla* (see Bartel, pp. 126-27 and 450).

<sup>179</sup> Tomáš Baltazar Janovka and Johann David Heinichen, together with Johann Mattheson, were the first advocates of the tonal system. Janovka first ignored the traditional church modes and presented the twenty-four major and minor keys in ascending chromatic order. For the whole issue, see Joel Lester, 'The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730', *Journal of Music Theory*, 22 (1978), 65-103 (pp. 77-78).

<sup>180</sup> Tomáš Baltazar Janovka, *Clavis ad thesaurum magnae artis musicae* (Prague: Georg Labaun, 1701; repr. Amsterdam: F. Knuf, 1973), p. 46, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 126.

<sup>181</sup> Milan Poštolka, 'Vogt, Mauritius', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxvi, pp. 870-71.

<sup>182</sup> See Bartel, pages 128 and 452. *Tremula*, *trilla*, *accentus*, *mezocircolo* (*circulus*), *curta*, *groppo*, *tirata*, *messanza*, *coulé*, *harpegiatura*, *herbeccio* and *passaggio* were classified as *figurae simplices*, while as *figurae ideales* Vogt listed *anabasis*, *catabasis*, *anadiplosis*, *anaphora*, *antistaechon*, *antitheton*, *aposiopesis*, *apotomia*, *climax*, *ecphonesis*, *epanalepsis*, *ethophonia* (*mimesis*), *emphasis*, *polyptoton*, *polysyntheton*, *schematoeides*, *metabasis*, *synaeresis*, *stenasmus*, *imesis*, *hypotyposis*, *prosopopoeia*, and *prosonomasia*. Vogt adopted the classification of the figures into *simplices* and *ideales* from W. C. Printz (1641-1717), who, influenced by Italian music thought, differentiated between ornamental embellishments and musical-rhetorical figures (see pages 62-63 of this chapter).



The main contribution of Vogt's *Conclave* to the history of music theory lies "[...] in the final crystallization of the doctrine of affections and figures before Mattheson and Scheibe."<sup>183</sup> The tradition, as established by Joachim Burmeister regarding the illustration of the text (figures related to *hypotyposis* and *prosopopoeia*) and the consequent musical expression of the affections, is explicitly encountered in Vogt's *figurae ideales*. Employing Greek terminology in order to identify the *figurae ideales* (the *figurae simplices* were given Latin names), Vogt established the close relationship between music and the ancient art of rhetoric. Terms such as *hypotyposis* and *prosopopoeia* referred not only to the reflection of the text, but also to the depiction of its idea to the mind of the listener in a lifelike manner. According to Vogt, the *figurae ideales* could be applied in any part of a composition, whether it be the beginning (*ad arsin*), the middle (*in medio*), or the end (*ad thesin*) of the musical passage.<sup>184</sup> The literal meaning of the term *idea*<sup>185</sup> implied 'what was seen in the text', and therefore, music and text, through the application of the *hypotyposis figurae ideales*, would represent the sense (*idea* > *ιδέα*) of the text and its inherent affection.<sup>186</sup> Accordingly, Vogt conceived of the composer's task

[...] to understand how to further intensify [the composition] imaginatively through the musical-rhetorical figures of *hypotyposis* and *prosopopoeia*. [...] He ought always to work toward achieving the intended affection in his composition; and furthermore, where there are no suitable affective words, he ought to grasp the sense of the text [...].<sup>187</sup>

One year before the publication of Kircher's *Musurgia universalis*, the French philosopher René Descartes<sup>188</sup> compiled his philosophical study *Les*

<sup>183</sup> Milan Poštolka, 'Vogt, Mauritius', p. 870.

<sup>184</sup> Bartel, p. 130.

<sup>185</sup> The word *idea* (Greek word: *ιδέα*) is derived from the ancient Greek verb *ορω* > *ιδέα*, which means to see.

<sup>186</sup> Bartel, p. 129.

<sup>187</sup> Mauritius Vogt, *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (Prague: G. Labaun, 1719), p. 144, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 128. For the *hypotyposis* figures and the vivid representation of the text, as employed by Burmeister, see p. 32 of this chapter.

<sup>188</sup> René Descartes, *Les Passions de l'Ame* (Paris: le Gras, 1649); facs. repr. ed. by Geneviève Rodis-Lewis, Bibliothèque des textes philosophiques (Paris: J. Vrin, 1964); English translation: *The*



*Passions de l'Ame*, which was the first decisive attempt to develop a systematic concept of the affections.<sup>189</sup> According to his theory, the human reaction to a specific affection could be defined through rational and scientific justifications.<sup>190</sup> Discussing the function of the human body, Descartes focused particularly on the 'animal spirits' (*spiritus animalis*), the elements inherent in the blood that affected the whole body, including the humour-producing organs and the brain.<sup>191</sup> While his theory would sound like a pseudo-scientific misunderstanding to modern medicine, Descartes considered that the *spiritus animalis* could influence a very small gland, the pineal gland at the base of the brain.<sup>192</sup> This would give rise to a specific affection in the human soul, since, according to his theory, the principal seat of the soul was placed in the pineal gland. He justified his theory, writing:

But on carefully examining the matter I think I have clearly established that the part of the body in which the soul directly exercises its functions is not the heart at all, or the whole of the brain. It is rather the innermost part of the brain, which is a certain very small gland situated in the middle of the brain's substance and suspended above the passage through which the spirits in the brain's anterior cavities communicate with those in its posterior cavities. The slightest movements on the part of this gland may alter very greatly the course of these spirits, and conversely any change, however slight, taking place in the course of the spirits may do much to change the movements of the gland.<sup>193</sup>

Descartes also attributed the arousal of the emotions to the movement of the spirits, when he stated:

[...] They [the passions] are caused chiefly by the spirits contained in the cavities of the brain making their way to nerves which serve to expand or constrict the orifices of the heart, or to drive blood towards the heart in a distinctive way from other parts of the body, or to maintain the passion in some other way.<sup>194</sup>

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*Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, trans. by J. Cottingham, R. Stoothoff, and D. Murdoch, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985 and 1991).

<sup>189</sup> As it will be explained later, despite the fact that Baroque treatises tended to refer to a Theory of Affects, no systematic Doctrine of Affections was developed in the Baroque era.

<sup>190</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, pp. 269-70.

<sup>191</sup> Bartel, p. 38.

<sup>192</sup> Buelow, 'Teaching Seventeenth-Century Concepts', p. 12.

<sup>193</sup> *The Philosophical Writings of Descartes*, vol. 1 (1985), p. 340.

<sup>194</sup> *ibid.*, p. 342.



Descartes's theory was also joined with the revival of the Greek doctrine of the four humours and temperaments, a theory that remained dominant throughout the Baroque and attempted to explain rationally the evocation of particular emotions in the human body. The ancient Greek humoral doctrine, as established by Empedocles, Hippocrates, and Galen,<sup>195</sup> taught that there were four primordial elements, namely air, earth, fire, and water, and that each one of the four was equal to the other.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, it was believed that these elements came into existence from a combination of the four basic qualities: heat, cold, dryness, and moistness.<sup>197</sup> Furthermore, according to the concept of *Isonomia*, these attributes (heat, cold, dryness, and moistness) composed the human body and were in perfect harmony. The union and harmony of the combination of these qualities created health, while the disturbance of the harmony caused disease.<sup>198</sup> A dominating principle of this doctrine was the Theory of the Humours, according to which the human body was composed of four fluids: blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm,<sup>199</sup> each of which was produced by an internal body organ and

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<sup>195</sup> Judith Pilszynski, 'The Evolvment of the Humoral Doctrine', *Medical Times*, 92.10 (October 1964), 1009-14. For further readings on ancient medicine, see Harold W. Miller, 'On Ancient Medicine and the Origin of Medicine', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 80 (1949), 187-202; and by the same author, 'Dynamis and Physis in "On Ancient Medicine"', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 83 (1952), 184-97; also, 'Techne and Discovery in "On Ancient Medicine"', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 86 (1955), 51-62.

<sup>196</sup> "Since only division [of bodies] by form is left, it is further agreed that in the division of each genus of existent things there is some indivisible form such as the elements of natural bodies: earth and water, air and fire." See Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, ed., trans. and comm. by Phillip de Lacy, 2<sup>nd</sup> part: Books VI-IX, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 4, 1, 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1980), Book VIII, 2. 9, p. 493.

<sup>197</sup> *ibid.*, Book VIII, 4. 20, p. 503: "He [Hippocrates] says that the body has been generated from the four elements, naming them generally by their active qualities, the one dry, the other moist; the one hot, the other cold."

<sup>198</sup> Pilszynski, p. 1011.

<sup>199</sup> "The body of man has in it blood, phlegm, yellow and black bile; these are the nature of his body, and these cause pain and health in him. Thus he is healthiest when these are well proportioned in power and quantity relative to each other, and most of all if they are (well) mixed; but he feels pain when any of them is less or more in quantity or is set apart in the body and not mixed with all the others" (cited in Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 4, 1, 2; Book VIII, 4. 14-16, pp. 501-03, where he reproduces Hippocrates' original text *On the Nature of Man*); for the original text see Hippocrate, *La Nature de l' Homme*, ed., trad. et comm. par Jacques Jouanna, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, I, 1, 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1975), 4. 1-3, pp. 173-75. See also Galen, *On the Elements According to Hippocrates*, ed., trans. and comm. by Phillip de Lacy, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 1, 2 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1996), 8. 11-13, p. 127: "Now let me go through the account as it applies to a human being: he is made of the primary and simplest visible elements, those called



was related to a pair of the four qualities and to one of the four elements (see the following table).<sup>200</sup>

Hippocrates, the representative of the Coan Medical School and also known as the ‘Father of Medicine’, related the four humours with specific body organs and maintained that each one of the four fluids posed a quality itself and had a particular effect on the body. The blood, which was seated in the veins and arteries and was hot and moist, made the spirit wilder, while the phlegm, seated in the brain and being cold and moist, made the spirit sluggish (see table).<sup>201</sup> However, it was Galen, who, at a culminating point in the history of ancient medicine, united the theories of Empedocles and Hippocrates and expanded on them by adding the Theory of the Temperaments. According to this new doctrine, men were placed into four different categories: sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic.<sup>202</sup> The new theory, as was formed through the writings of Galen, is illustrated in the following table:

Temperament	Sanguine	Choleric	Melancholic	Phlegmatic
Humour	Blood	Yellow bile	Black bile	Phlegm
Body organ	Veins/ Arteries	Liver	Spleen	Brain
Elements	Air	Fire	Earth	Water
Qualities	Hot & Moist	Hot & Dry	Cold & Dry	Cold & Moist
Season <sup>203</sup>	Spring	Summer	Autumn	Winter

Table 1. The four humours and temperaments

homoeomorous, fiber, membrane, flesh, fat, bone and cartilage, ligament, nerve, marrow, and all the other (structures) whose parts all have the same form. These in turn have been generated from certain other elements closest to themselves, blood, phlegm, and the two kinds of bile, yellow and black; their genesis is from the things we eat and drink, which in turn were produced from air and fire, water and earth; and these last are not from other bodies but from matter and qualities.”

<sup>200</sup> Pilszynski, pp. 1009-11. See also Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 4, 1, 2; Book VIII, 4. 21, p. 503: “Yellow bile is analogous to fire, black bile to earth, and phlegm to water; therefore yellow bile, like fire, is hot and dry in power, black bile is cold and dry, similar to earth, and phlegm is cold and moist like water.” However, J. Pilszynski in her article falsely relates yellow bile with air and blood with fire (see table, p. 1012). Bartel’s table (*Musica Poetica*, p. 37) agrees with the one presented here.

<sup>201</sup> Pilszynski, p. 1011.

<sup>202</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 1012-13.

<sup>203</sup> Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 4, 1, 2; Book VIII, 6. 1, p. 513: “After establishing that the four humors exist in us naturally, [...], (Hippocrates) then points out that phlegm is more abundant in winter, blood in spring, yellow bile in summer, and black bile in the fall.”



Furthermore, Galen distinguished between two different kinds of *pneuma*: the *pneuma psychicon* (*spiritus animalis*), which was seated in the ventricles of the brain, and the *pneuma zoticon* (vital spirit), which was generated in the arteries and the heart.<sup>204</sup> According to this doctrine, formulated through the writings of Hippocrates and Galen, each human being was moved to a certain emotion (affection) when a specific internal body organ was affected by an external stimulus. The affected body organ would then produce the analogous humour, which, combined with the *spiritus animalis*, would travel through the body, affect the brain, and consequently lead to the corresponding affection. The numerical proportions of the musical intervals were considered affection-arousing external stimuli; the properties of music would enter the body via the ear and set in motion the *spiritus animalis*, which would then produce the corresponding humour and reflect the related affection.<sup>205</sup>

Since the affection-oriented function of music was continuously gaining prominence throughout the seventeenth century, composers employed all necessary musical-rhetorical devices in order to control the emotions and arouse the affects in the minds of the listeners. Following a tradition that had already prevailed in Renaissance vocal music, composers attempted to employ musical means suitable for the portrayal of the affections (rage, excitement, love, or hate), and to enhance musical effects through vehement contrasts.<sup>206</sup> Consequently, the term 'affections' referred to particular rationalized emotional states that were to be defined and expressed in every kind of musical composition.<sup>207</sup>

Based on the paradigm of ancient orators, Baroque composers assumed that the primary purpose of music was the arousal of these idealized emotional

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<sup>204</sup> "Now the *pneuma* in the arteries is and is called vital, and that in the brain is called psychic. [...] Just as vital *pneuma* is generated in the arteries and the heart, getting the material for its generation from inhalation and from the vaporization of the humors, so the psychic *pneuma* is generated by a further refinement of the vital." See Galen, *On the Doctrines of Hippocrates and Plato*, *Corpus Medicorum Graecorum*, V, 4, 1, 2; Book VII, 3. 27-29, pp. 445-47.

<sup>205</sup> Bartel, p. 38.

<sup>206</sup> Buelow, 'Teaching Seventeenth-Century Concepts', p. 2.

<sup>207</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Affects, Theory of the', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), i, p. 181.



states.<sup>208</sup> As a result, the *Affektenlehre* was systematized in a codified system of figures or *loci topici* which, based on the ancient analogy between music and rhetoric, guided composers towards the representation or depiction of the affections in music. The close alliance between music and speech was further identified in the renovation of the recitative, which led theorists to the invention of analogous musical figures emulating figures of speech related to affirmation and emphatic repetition.<sup>209</sup> Bernhard, towards the middle of the seventeenth century stated that “[...] the art of music has attained such a height in our own day that it may indeed be compared to a rhetoric, in view of the multitude of figures [...]”<sup>210</sup> Later, J. G. Walther, in his *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (1708) supported the same view, namely that

“[...] artful singers and instrumentalists diverged here and there from the notes, and [...] composed such devices, so that our music of today is to be justly compared with a *rhetoric*, on account of the quantity of figures.”<sup>211</sup>

Finally, Johann Mattheson, in the middle of the eighteenth century, considered instrumental music an imitation of vocal music, a form of ‘sound-speech’ (*Klangrede*),<sup>212</sup> and in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* he acknowledged: “[...] everything which happens without praiseworthy affections, is nothing, does nothing, signifies nothing [...]”<sup>213</sup>

<sup>208</sup> Buelow, ‘Johann Mattheson and the Invention of the Affektenlehre’, p. 396.

<sup>209</sup> Bukofzer, p. 388.

<sup>210</sup> Christoph Bernhard, *Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien*, Chapter 13, §4, as it appears in Walter Hilse, ‘The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard’, *The Music Forum*, 3 (1973), 1-196 (p. 90).

<sup>211</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar, 1708; repr. ed. by P. Benary: Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 2; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955), p. 152, cited and translated by Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, p. 18.

<sup>212</sup> “Since then instrumental music is nothing other than a ‘tone-language’ or ‘sound-speech’, its real intention must be to arouse a certain emotion, to which end careful attention must be given to the proper emphasis in the choice of intervals, intelligent articulation of phrases, measured progression, and so on”, in Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (Hamburg: Christian Herold, 1739); Faksimile-Nachdruck herausgegeben von Margarete Reimann: Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: Druckschriften-Faksimiles, 5 (Kassel/ Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1954), Part I, Chapter 10, §63, cited and translated by Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music*, p. 78.

<sup>213</sup> “[...] alles was ohne löbliche Affecten geschiehet, heisst nichts, thut nichts, gilt nichts [...]”, in Johann Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 5, §82, p. 146; English translation: *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister: A Revised Translation and*



Throughout the seventeenth century, the arousal of the affections was related to textual expression, and music theorists included in their treatises lists of affective words that were to be musically illustrated in order to evoke particular emotions. Nucius, as already mentioned, incorporated in his treatise affective words (*verba affectuum*) related to specific human dimensions (rejoicing, weeping, fearing, lamenting), while Burmeister referred to the *pathopoeia* as an expressive device suited for the depiction of the text and the arousal of passionate affections. Kircher, moreover, related the expression of the affections to rhetorical devices and associated the rhetorical steps *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* with textual expression. However, the close link between text and affections was explicitly crystallized in Vogt's definitive form *figurae ideales*, a classification that embraced the musical-rhetorical figures employed to express vividly the ideas inherent in the text through music. Relating every aspect of composition to the arousal of the affections, Mattheson, in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, stated that

The greatest expressiveness, the most powerful ideas, and the most precise performance of the words, i.e., of the meaning that is in the words, indeed stems from the affections and passions, and without these they can no more stand than a carriage without wheels.<sup>214</sup>

Regarding vocal music, the arousal of the affections was closely related to the Baroque aria, which reflected the action of an opera. Particular emphasis was placed on the character of the actor singing the aria, since he or she was the one affected and plunged into contrasting passions due to the sudden changes in the action. Two opposing forces, namely the external changing situations and the constant temperament of the actor, governed the reigning affections in the opera.<sup>215</sup> Moreover, the consistent application of figures in the aria guaranteed its

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*Critical Commentary*, trans. by Ernest Charles Harriss, *Studies in Musicology*, 21 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1981), Part II, Chapter 5, §82, p. 319. Specific parts of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* have also been translated by Hans Lenneberg in the *Journal of Music Theory*; see Hans Lenneberg, 'Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', *Journal of Music Theory*, 2.1 & 2 (April & November 1958), 47-84 and 193-236.

<sup>214</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss; Part II, Chapter 5, §80, p. 319.

<sup>215</sup> Bartel, pp. 53-55.



musical unity, while at the same time attesting to the unity of affection that governed the piece. It was in the middle Baroque and particularly at the end of the period that the prevalence of a single affection in the piece became an aesthetic necessity. As Mattheson stated, "the aria is [...] a well-arranged song, which has its own particular key and meter, is usually divided into two parts, and concisely expresses a great affection."<sup>216</sup> On the other hand, opposing affections inherent in the text could be reflected in the general form of the aria; for instance, section B of a *da capo* aria could be a reflection of contrasting affections in the plot compared to section A.<sup>217</sup> In Bach's cantata arias, this was illustrated in a theologically based perspective, which heightened the difference between the cosmological and mundane view on the one hand, and the eschatological and divine on the other.<sup>218</sup>

Additionally, musical intervals, harmonies, rhythm, and tempo were examined according to their affective qualities, since their physical effects could arouse the appropriate affects in the listeners. Joyful affections were considered to be expressed through perfect and consonant intervals (especially in major keys) together with a fast rhythm and without many dissonances and syncopations. Referring to the numerical proportions of the intervals, the major triad with its proportion 4:5:6 was closer to the unison, therefore resulting in a joyous effect.<sup>219</sup> Mattheson, in the third chapter of the first part of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, referred to the positive role that the passions had to play and stated: "Where there is no passion, no affect to be found, there is also no virtue. If our passions are sick, then they must be healed, not murdered."<sup>220</sup> He then spoke of specific affects; for example, joy "[...] is an expansion of our soul, thus it

<sup>216</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 13, §10, p. 432.

<sup>217</sup> The antithesis or contrast between the two parts of an aria was also explained by Mattheson in terms of grammatical punctuation. The semicolon, for instance, placed at the end of the first period, required a cadence in the tonic, since, after the repetition (*da capo*), the first section was becoming the final close that had to establish the cadence in the tonic key. See Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §51, p. 396; see also Lenneberg, §51, p. 216.

<sup>218</sup> Bartel, p. 55.

<sup>219</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>220</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 3, §53, p. 104.



follows reasonably and naturally that I could best express this affect by large and expanded intervals.”<sup>221</sup> On other passions, such as pride, haughtiness, and arrogance, Mattheson considered that

[...] [they] are also usually depicted or expressed with their special colors in notes and sounds, for which purpose the composer usually draws upon a bold, pompous style. He thus has the opportunity to use all sorts of majestic musical figures which require a special seriousness and grandiloquent motion; but he must never permit a musical line that is fleeting and falling, but always ascending.<sup>222</sup>

Sorrowful affections, on the other hand, were expressed through harsh dissonant intervals and syncopated rhythms, in conjunction with a slow tempo. The numerical proportions of the intervals, in this case, were not close to the unison,<sup>223</sup> therefore unable to attain perfection, while syncopations and suspensions were related to harmonic irregularities. Moreover, dissonant intervals, such as the dissonance of a semitone, contributed to the arousal of sadder affections, which were also reflected in a slow and weak pulse. Sadness, for instance, was described by Mattheson as “[...] a contraction of these subtle parts of our body, [...] [so that] the small and smallest intervals are the most suitable for this passion”, while despair could “[...] bring about unusual passages and strange, mad, disordered sequences of notes.”<sup>224</sup>

Moreover, rhythm and tempo were regarded as basic points of the composition, on which the composer should focus in order to portray the intended affection and influence the listener. While sanguine and choleric characters would generally be more inclined to faster tempi, melancholic or phlegmatic personalities would perhaps be better represented by music of serious and grave character. Rhythmic *varietas*, a fundamental principle of *musica reservata* in the Renaissance, prevailed in Baroque compositional theory as an important element for the arousal of the affections. Andreas Werckmeister and Michael Praetorius

<sup>221</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 3, §56, p. 104.

<sup>222</sup> *ibid.*, Part I, Chapter 3, §72, pp. 107-08.

<sup>223</sup> Numerical proportions 10:12:15; see Bartel, pp. 48-49.

<sup>224</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 3, §57, p. 105; §80, p. 109.



referred to tempo designations such as *forte* or *piano*, *presto*, *adagio* or *lento* as indications of affections, while Mattheson suggested that the composer chose a particular tempo to illustrate a specific affection.<sup>225</sup>

Additionally, the rhythmic characteristics of dance forms were assigned affective qualities, and the whole Baroque suite was a sequence of dance genres ordered and determined by certain affections. For Mattheson, instrumental music was to express and arouse emotions to the same aesthetic standard as vocal music, and each type of instrumental music was assigned a 'distinguishing mark' (*Abzeichen*) and a characteristic affect.<sup>226</sup> In *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, for instance, he discussed the affective properties of the Baroque dances mentioning that the menuet had "[...] no other affect than moderate cheerfulness", while the affect of the gavotte was "[...] really true jubilation." Moreover, the character of the bourrée was "[...] contentment and pleasantness, as if it were somewhat untroubled or calm [...]", the rigaudon was "[...] trifling joking", while the march was "[...] somewhat heroic and fearless."<sup>227</sup> As a result of the close link between Baroque dances and specific affections,<sup>228</sup> dance forms were assigned an influential role in structuring both instrumental and vocal music.<sup>229</sup>

As mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, the belief in the characteristics of keys was traced back to the ancient Greek doctrine of *ethos*, which attributed particular affective qualities to specific keys. Aristotle (384-322 BC) wrote that

[...] pieces of music [...] do actually contain in themselves imitations of character; and this is manifest, for even in the nature of the mere melodies there are differences, so that people when hearing them are affected differently and have not the same feelings in regard to each of

<sup>225</sup> Bartel, pp. 46-47.

<sup>226</sup> Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music in 18<sup>th</sup> Century Germany*, p. 79.

<sup>227</sup> *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 13, §81, p. 451; §87, p. 453; §90, p. 454; §93, p. 455; §95, p. 455. For the affective qualities of all Baroque dances (menuet, gavotte, bourrée, rigaudon, march, entrée, gigue, polonaise, angloise, passepied, rondeau, sarabande, courante, allemande), see *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 13, §§81-129, pp. 451-64.

<sup>228</sup> For further readings on affects and Baroque dances, see Gregory G. Butler, 'The Projection of Affect in Baroque Dance Music', *Early Music*, 12 (May 1984), 201-07.

<sup>229</sup> Bartel, p. 55. In organ music, for instance, one can come across fugues in gigue form, as, for example, the third fugue of Buxtehude's Prelude in E minor (BuxWV 142).



them, but listen to some in a more mournful and restrained state, for instance the mode called Mixolydian, and to others in a softer state of mind, but in a midway state and with the greatest composure to another, as the Dorian mode alone of tunes seems to act, while the Phrygian makes men enthusiastic.<sup>230</sup>

Throughout the Middle Ages, affective qualities were assigned to the church modes drawing on the *ethos* of the ancient Greek keys,<sup>231</sup> and it was believed that the medieval church modes, such as the Dorian and the Phrygian, were linked historically to the Greek system and shared the same characteristics. This belief was actually the result of a series of mistakes made by scholars, such as Isidore of Seville (c. 570-636) and Aurelianus Reomensis (mid-ninth century), who contributed to this false assumption that equated the Western church modes with the Greek keys. Rather than originating from Greek *ethos*-oriented forerunners, the medieval modes shared features with the Byzantine *octoechoi*, which included the division into four authentic and four plagal modes.<sup>232</sup> Both the Western and the Byzantine systems comprised four finals on D, E, F, and G, together with a higher-range form (authentic) and a lower-range one (plagal) founded on each final.<sup>233</sup>

During the Renaissance, and while tonality was gradually replacing modality,<sup>234</sup> theorists, beginning with Zarlino (1517-1590),<sup>235</sup> elaborated on the predominance of the major and minor keys over the traditional modes, and related

<sup>230</sup> Aristotle, in twenty-three volumes, Loeb Classical Library, xxi (1932; repr. 1972): *The Politics*, trans. by H. Rackham (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), Book VIII. V. 8-9. 1340b, p. 659.

<sup>231</sup> Bartel, p. 40.

<sup>232</sup> Rita Steblin, *A History of Key Characteristics in the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*, Studies in Musicology, 67 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), p. 19.

<sup>233</sup> Kenneth Levy and Christian Troelsgård, 'Byzantine Chant', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), iv, pp. 734-56 (pp. 740-41). See also Oliver Strunk, 'Intonations and Signatures of the Byzantine Modes', *The Musical Quarterly*, 31 (1945), 339-55 (pp. 339-40).

<sup>234</sup> Lester, 'The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730', p. 66.

<sup>235</sup> According to Bukofzer (*Music in the Baroque Era*, p. 387) "the contrast of major and minor, discussed as early as Glareanus and Zarlino, assumed universal importance only with the advent of the baroque music." However, according to Lester, "[...] the major-minor duality of the Ionian and Aeolian modes, or of any other modes, plays no part in any of Glarean's thinking - not in the generation of the modes, their ordering, differentiation, relationships, or affects." See Joel Lester, 'Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany: 1592-1680', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 30 (1977), 208-53 (p. 212).



modes with a major third above the final with joyful affections, and those with a minor third above the final with sadder sentiments.<sup>236</sup> In his *Le institutioni harmoniche* (1558), Zarlino recognized that the twelve modes were of two basic types,<sup>237</sup> and differentiated them by the quality of the third, stating:

Certain compositions are lively and full of cheer, whereas others on the contrary are somewhat sad and languid. [...] Whereas in the first group the major third is often placed beneath the minor, in the second [group] the opposite is true.<sup>238</sup>

Based on this distinction, Carissimi juxtaposed cheerfulness with sadness in his cantata *I Filosofi* by differentiating between the two modes.<sup>239</sup> Moreover, Zarlino first modelled the structure of the harmony on the third and fifth over the bass, and identified “[...] the polarity between the form of this harmony with a major third and that with a minor third.”<sup>240</sup> He also commented on the affects of the modes according to the major and minor imperfect consonances and claimed that

The property or nature of the imperfect consonances is that some of them are lively and cheerful, accompanied by much sonority, and some, although they are sweet and smooth, tend somewhat towards sadness or languor. The first are the major thirds and sixths and their compounds: and the others are the minor [thirds and sixths] [...].<sup>241</sup>

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, and under the influence of Zarlino, Sethus Calvisius (1556-1615) in his *Exercitatio musica tertia* (1611) codified the modes according to the major and minor imperfect consonances, and adopted their classification into *modi laetiores* and *modi tristiores*.<sup>242</sup> In addition to that, Johannes Lippius, in his *Synopsis musicae novae* (1612) acknowledged

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<sup>236</sup> Zarlino first spoke of the final, third, and fifth of a mode as the principal cadence points; see Lester, ‘The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730’, p. 71; also Bartel, p. 41.

<sup>237</sup> Lester, ‘Major-Minor Concepts’, pp. 212-13; also Walter Atcherson, ‘Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 17 (1973), 204-32 (p. 222).

<sup>238</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *The Art of Counterpoint: Part Three of Le Institutioni Harmoniche, 1558*, trans. by Guy A. Marco and Claude V. Palisca, Music Theory Translation Series, 2 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), pp. 21-22, cited in Steblin, p. 31.

<sup>239</sup> Bukofzer, p. 387.

<sup>240</sup> Lester, ‘Major-Minor Concepts’, p. 212.

<sup>241</sup> Gioseffo Zarlino, *Le institutioni harmoniche*, Part III, Chapter 10, p. 182, cited and translated by Lester, ‘Major-Minor Concepts’, p. 216.

<sup>242</sup> Lester, ‘Major-Minor Concepts’, p. 222.



the existence of the twelve modes,<sup>243</sup> and, commenting on the affect and effect of each mode's tonic triad (*trias harmonica*), distinguished them on the basis of their affective qualities:

That is how the modes differ one from another. Thus, on the one hand, the Ionian is exceedingly lively and happy; the Lydian, devoutly so; and the Mixolydian, moderately so. On the other hand, the Dorian is moderately mild, gentle, sad, and serious; the Aeolian, less so; and the Phrygian, quite so.<sup>244</sup>

Lippius viewed music primarily in harmonic terms, and identified two types of mode according to the major and minor tonic triad:

A primary mode can be legitimate or spurious. A legitimate mode can be natural, when it has a natural harmonic triad, or *mollis*, when it has a *mollis* triad. Both types of legitimate modes are each threefold, according to the species of their triads. The former can be Ionian, Lydian, or Mixolydian. The latter can be Dorian, Phrygian, or Aeolian.<sup>245</sup>

Drawing heavily on Lippius's theories, Johannes Crüger (1598-1662), in his *Praecepta musicae* (1625) and *Synopsis musica* (Berlin, 1630 and 1654) discussed aspects of the modes, which he classified also into two general categories by virtue of the major or minor triad.<sup>246</sup> On the other hand, Andreas Herbst (1588-1666), in his *Musica poetica* (1643) did not distinguish the modes according to their major or minor qualities. Rather, influenced by Kircher's differentiations of the affections into joyful, pious or subdued, and sad, he presented affects for each mode, which he included in three large groupings: the cheerful modes (*fröhlich*), the sad and gentle (*traurig und gelind*), and the harsh

<sup>243</sup> Atcherson, 'Key and Mode in Seventeenth-Century Music Theory Books', p. 207.

<sup>244</sup> Johannes Lippius, *Synopsis of New Music*, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, p. 56.

<sup>245</sup> *ibid.*, p. 54. See also Atcherson, p. 207: "A legitimate [authentic] mode [as opposed to a "spurious" mode, i.e., one divided at the tritone] is either natural, when it has the major triad, or minor, when it possesses the minor triad. There are three of each kind, according to the species of triads [...]."

<sup>246</sup> Johannes Crüger, *Praecepta musicae*, Chapter 7: "How does one recognize the modes? First, observe, above all, the final tone of the lowest voice or bass. Add above this [...] the mediant, distant by a major third from one of the extreme tones [of the fifth], and distant by a minor third from the other, and you will have the triad, the root of all most perfect and fullest harmony which can exist in the world, and the root of thousands and thousands of thousands of sounds, all of which are led back to a part of the triad [...]", cited in Lester, 'Major-Minor Concepts', p. 230.

and angry (*hart und zornig*).<sup>247</sup> Additionally, he recommended a careful choice of the key or mode the composer was going to set the text to, while, in his discussion of the division of the musical composition into *exordium*, *medium*, and *fine*, he suggested that the composer first considered the meaning of the text and then chose to apply the appropriate mode.

Johann Mattheson (1681-1764), a pioneer in replacing the old modality with the modern tonality, included a long discussion of key characteristics in his first treatise *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713), and related specific affections with particular keys. He began his discussion declaring:

It is well known, if one considers the time, circumstances, and persons involved, that each key possesses some special characteristic and is very different in its effect from the other keys; but, what each key actually has for its affect, and how and when this affect is aroused, is greatly contradicted.<sup>248</sup>

Before Mattheson's discussion of the affective properties of the keys, the transition from modality to tonality was demonstrated by the Czech organist Tomáš Baltazar Janovka who, in his *Clavis ad thesaurum* (1701) totally disregarded the traditional church modes, and spoke of the twenty-four major and minor keys, which he notated in a complete scale and in ascending chromatic order.<sup>249</sup> Following the tonal tradition, Johann David Heinichen, in his *Neu erfundene und gründliche Anweisung...des General-Basses* (Hamburg, 1711), showed little respect for the old modes and presented all the major and the relative minor keys as they appeared in his musical circle.<sup>250</sup> Despite the significance of Janovka and Heinichen in the establishment of tonality, it was Mattheson who "[...] brought the battle between adherents of the major and minor keys and adherents of the church modes out into the open during the 1710's and 1720's

<sup>247</sup> Lester, 'Major-Minor Concepts and Modal Theory in Germany: 1592-1680', p. 248; also Bartel, pp. 41-44.

<sup>248</sup> Johann Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (Hamburg: the author, 1713; facs. repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1997), Part III, Chapter 2, §2, p. 232, translated by Steblin, p. 43.

<sup>249</sup> Lester, 'The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys', pp. 77-78.

<sup>250</sup> Heinichen's circle was an improvement of Kircher's musical circle and presented in pairs each major key with its relative minor. His circle basically served as an aid in modulating from one key to another. See Lester, 'The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys', pp. 78-83; also Bukofzer, pp. 384-85.



[sic].”<sup>251</sup> In *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713), Mattheson enumerated the twenty-four contemporary keys, beginning with the eight church modes,<sup>252</sup> while, adopting a tolerant attitude towards the old system, he maintained that the church modes were used in church and choral music sometimes with great freedom and significant changes.<sup>253</sup>

In approaching the topic of the affections, Mattheson presented a confusing theory, namely a mixture of old and new ideas. He related modern key affects to old modal affects, and when examining those keys with modal counterparts, he presented the attributes that ancient Greek writers (Aristotle and Athenaeus) ascribed to the modes, and then those of modern theorists (Kircher and Corvinus).<sup>254</sup> In presenting the modal qualities, Mattheson leaned heavily on Kircher’s *Musurgia universalis* (1650) with its summarized descriptions of the affects of the old modes. Mattheson’s encyclopedic approach to the concept related the names and attributes of the old modes to modern keys (based on the pitch of the final and the major or minor third),<sup>255</sup> probably under the influence of the Danish theorist Corvinus, who also confused ancient sources and modern views on the modes.<sup>256</sup>

Regarding the affects of contemporary keys, Mattheson rejected the old idea that related affect with the major or minor third, as well as the belief that a piece in sharps was more lively than a piece in flats.<sup>257</sup> In fact, he considered that each key had its own affect when he stated:

Those people who believe that the whole secret is to be found in the minor or major third, and who maintain that as a rule all minor keys

<sup>251</sup> Lester, ‘The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730’, p. 83.

<sup>252</sup> Mattheson did not follow Janovka’s or Heinichen’s ordering, who both paired major and minor keys. The eight church modes, as they appear in Mattheson’s work were: 1. d-f-a (d minor), 2. g-b flat-d (g minor), 3. a-c-e (a minor), 4. e-g-b (e minor), 5. c-e-g (c major), 6. f-a-c (f major), 7. d-f sharp-a (d major), 8. g-b-d (g major); see Lester, ‘The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730’, p. 84.

<sup>253</sup> *ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>254</sup> Steblin, p. 46.

<sup>255</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 44-45: d minor- Dorian, g minor- transposed Dorian, a minor- Aeolian, e minor- Phrygian, C major- Ionian, F major- transposed Ionian, G major- Hypoionian, B-flat major- transposed Lydian.

<sup>256</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

<sup>257</sup> Lester, ‘The Recognition of Major and Minor Keys in German Theory: 1680-1730’, pp. 85-86.

are inevitably sad and that all major keys are usually joyful, are not entirely wrong; they have just not gone far enough in their investigations.

Much less correct are those people who believe that a piece in flats absolutely must sound soft and tender, while a piece in sharps must be hard, lively and joyful. The error of the first opinion, the naïveté of the second, and the incongruity [of these views] can be clearly shown; the following will fully illuminate how both opinions contradict themselves.<sup>258</sup>

As he mentioned, C major was a key with “[...] a rather rude and bold character [...]”, while c minor was “[...] an extremely sweet as well as also sad key.”<sup>259</sup> D major, on the other hand, was considered “[...] by its nature somewhat sharp and headstrong [...] most suitable for alarms, for merry and warlike things, and those giving animation”, while d minor contained “[...] something devout, tranquil, together also with something grand and satisfying.”<sup>260</sup> In some cases, Mattheson’s key characteristics were strongly influenced by the attributes of particular instruments. D major, for instance, was associated with trumpets and tympani which would justify its warlike effect, while A major’s affecting and brilliant character was mostly suited for violin music.<sup>261</sup> Finally, in his later treatise *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* (1719), Mattheson supplied additional characteristics of several keys, which in most cases contradicted his earlier views in *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713).<sup>262</sup>

Mattheson differed from his contemporaries in that he seemed to abandon the affective difference based on major/ minor distinction and sharp/ flat polarity. The expressive characteristics attributed to each key constituted a table of key affections corresponding to his own temperament,

<sup>258</sup> Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Part III, Chapter 2, §§3-4, pp. 232-33, translated by Steblin, p. 50.

<sup>259</sup> George J. Buelow, ‘An Evaluation of Johann Mattheson’s Opera, *Cleopatra* (Hamburg, 1704)’, in *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Music: A Tribute to Karl Geiringer*, ed. by H. C. Robbins Landon and R. E. Chapman (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 92-107 (pp. 98-99).

<sup>260</sup> *ibid.*, p. 100.

<sup>261</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 100 and 102; see also Steblin, p. 50.

<sup>262</sup> Steblin, p. 51. This involved particularly keys without modal counterparts; for instance, E-flat major was considered “pathetic”, “serious”, and “plaintive” (in 1713), while in 1719 Mattheson described it as “beautiful”, “majestic”, and “honest.”



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allowing everyone complete freedom to construct a better arrangement according to their own sentiment, being fully aware that although they may seem satisfactory, they will not necessarily find favor with everyone else.<sup>263</sup>

Mattheson's descriptions of the affective qualities of the keys have received particular attention up to the present day; however, no one can consider his views a universal Doctrine of Affections, applicable to the analysis of eighteenth-century Baroque music. Mattheson followed his ideas in his own music, as for example in the opera *Cleopatra*, which illustrates a strong interaction between his descriptions of the keys and his compositions.<sup>264</sup> He finally stressed that the affections aroused in the individual when hearing a particular key depended mostly on the variability of human disposition. Kircher, who had already delved into human pathology, maintained that each individual preferred the key most suited to his humour and complexion. Based on this assumption, Mattheson concluded that

the opinions on this subject are almost countless and I do not know of any other reason for this than the difference in human temperaments [*Complexionen*]. Doubtless it may be that one key, which appears merry and rousing to someone with a sanguine temperament, seems lamentable and distressed to the phlegmatic person, etc. We [...] want to make it clear once again that everyone is free to attribute such properties to the keys which best suit his natural inclination.<sup>265</sup>

To sum up the discussion so far, the concept of the affections remained dominant throughout the Baroque era, since the composer assumed the role of the orator and conceived of music as having the power to evoke rationalized emotional states in the heart of the listener. Gradations of pitches, dance genres, types of rhythm, and musical intervals were regarded as the basic means to 'move' the listener to corresponding sentiments. Despite the fact that these methods were acknowledged by Baroque composers, nobody suggested a

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<sup>263</sup> Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Part III, Chapter 2, §6, pp. 235-36, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 45.

<sup>264</sup> Steblin, p. 56.

<sup>265</sup> Mattheson, *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Part III, Chapter 2, §25, pp. 252-53, translated by Steblin, pp. 51-52.

systematic method of expressing particular emotions by translating them into musical sounds. Research in the twentieth century tended to credit Johann Mattheson with the complete systematization of the concept of the affections,<sup>266</sup> without taking into account that Mattheson's theory represented his subjective views and never served as a universal doctrine. Being familiar with Descartes's treatise *Les Passions de l'Ame*, Mattheson paralleled the concept of the *Affektenlehre* to that of *Natur-Lehre*, the Cartesian theory that based human emotions on physical laws and classified them according to the humours of the human body. According to his philosophy of musical expression, music was conceived both as an expressive (sensuous) and rational art, perceived by the ear and interpreted by the mind.<sup>267</sup>

Despite Mattheson's individual views on the concept, what remained constant during the Baroque was a general principle of expressing the affections, which was rooted in the rhetorical discipline and the application of musical-rhetorical figures, "the very language of the affections."<sup>268</sup> While the affective nature of *musica poetica* remained authoritative during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at the emergence of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, music was oriented towards an empirical aesthetic, thus encouraging a natural expression of the emotions. Consequently, the affects were no longer considered rationalized states codified by objective and natural principles; they were rather subjective and highly personal, portraying the character, the personal sentiment, the inspiration, and the expressiveness of the composer.<sup>269</sup>

After this long discussion regarding the evolution of the theory of the affections formulated in the treatises of Kircher and Descartes, the next author to be considered is Christoph Bernhard (1628-1692). Born in Kolberg, Pomerania (now Poland), and having attended the *Lateinschule* in Danzig, Bernhard was

<sup>266</sup> Bukofzer, *Music in the Baroque Era*, p. 388: "*Der Vollkommene Capellmeister* by Mattheson contains the most lucid and musically fruitful account of the subject [of the affections] [...]."

<sup>267</sup> Buelow, 'Johann Mattheson and the Invention of the *Affektenlehre*', pp. 399-400.

<sup>268</sup> "Die Figuren sind ja selbst eine Sprache der Affecten", in Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (Hamburg, 1738; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1740; Leipzig, 1745; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), p. 683, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 30.

<sup>269</sup> Bartel, pp. 55-56.



appointed singer at the electoral Court in Dresden, where he became a distinguished student of Heinrich Schütz.<sup>270</sup>

While in Dresden, Bernhard compiled three significant musical treatises.<sup>271</sup> The first, entitled *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier* (On the Art of Singing or Gracing), focused on vocal ornamentation and “[...] demonstrates most vividly the almost total domination of German musical life by Italian style and taste.”<sup>272</sup> Dating from around 1650, Bernhard’s singing treatise held a distinguished position among a long series of voice manuals, which sought to instruct their readers in contemporary Italian performance practice. He furthermore distinguished between two styles of singing; the first and simpler one (*Manier*) was divided into two subcategories: *cantar sodo* (plain singing) and *cantar d’affetto* (affective singing), of which only the latter referred to the affective implications of the text. The second style, named as *cantar passagiato*, comprehended the ornamental figures that were basically considered musical elaborations.<sup>273</sup>

Bernhard’s major work *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (Extended Treatise on Composition) dates approximately from 1657, after his trip to Rome, since he cites in it many Italian composers.<sup>274</sup> Influenced by the new style of composition which was being spread all over Europe by Italian musicians, Bernhard classified his music reflecting Monteverdi’s division into *prima* and *seconda prattica*, and furthermore Marco Scacchi’s distinction between church,

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<sup>270</sup> Kerala J. Snyder, ‘Bernhard, Christoph’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), iii, pp. 438-40. For further readings, see Hellmut Federhofer, ‘Der strenge und freie Satz und sein Verhältnis zur Kompositionslehre von Heinrich Schütz in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard’, in *Beiträge zur internationalen musikalischen Gestaltanalyse* (Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1950); and by the same author, ‘Die Figurenlehre nach Christoph Bernhard und die Dissonanzbehandlung in Werken von Heinrich Schütz’, in *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bamberg 1953*, ed. by Wilfried Brennecke and others (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1954), pp. 132-35.

<sup>271</sup> Despite their significance, Bernhard’s treatises were lost and remained unknown until their first appearance in print in 1926 by Joseph Müller-Blattau; see *Die Kompositionslehre Heinrich Schützens in der Fassung seines Schülers Christoph Bernhard*, ed. by Joseph Müller-Blattau (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1926; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1963).

<sup>272</sup> Walter Hilse, ‘The Treatises of Christoph Bernhard’, p. 8.

<sup>273</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 49.

<sup>274</sup> Snyder, ‘Bernhard, Christoph’, p. 439.

chamber, and theatrical music.<sup>275</sup> Scacchi, particularly, referred to three different styles of vocal music. *Stylus ecclesiasticus*, the old *prima prattica*, comprised traditional styles of church music, while *stylus cubicularis* included specific genres of vocal chamber music, including madrigals and monodies. Thirdly, *stylus theatralis* or *scenicus* referred to the new elements of the *seconda prattica* that were applied to stage (theatrical) productions.<sup>276</sup>

Accordingly, Bernhard adopted a similar classification in his *Tractatus*, when he stated: “Similarly, it is not ill to divide counterpoint into *gravis* and *luxurians*, which others call *stylus antiquus* and *modernus*.”<sup>277</sup> In particular, *stylus contrapunctus gravis* or *stylus antiquus* (*a cappella* and *ecclesiasticus*) denoted the style of music consisting of notes of slower motion and of few kinds of dissonance treatment, in which music was the master of language.<sup>278</sup> It was the type of music suited for churches and chapels, and Palestrina was mentioned as its main advocate and as the composer most worthy of emulation among Willaert, Josquin, and Combert.<sup>279</sup> Considering the figures in this category, Bernhard included only four: *transitus*, *quasi-transitus*, *syncopatio*, and *quasi-syncopatio* (passing note, auxiliary note, suspension, and prepared appoggiatura).<sup>280</sup>

On the other hand, Bernhard described *stylus modernus* or *contrapunctus luxurians* as the type of music consisting of quick notes, unusual leaps, more dissonances, and more rhetorical figures, all suited for the arousal of the affects.<sup>281</sup> He furthermore divided this style into *communis* and *comicus*, “[...] the first being used everywhere, the second most of all in theatrical productions [...]”.<sup>282</sup> *Stylus luxurians communis* referred to vocal works in both church and chamber contexts, as well as instrumental music, and comprised a balance between textual and musical elements: both music and words were masters. Bernhard listed here fifteen figures: *superjectio*, *anticipatio*, *subsumptio*, *variatio*,

<sup>275</sup> Hilse, p. 3.

<sup>276</sup> *ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>277</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus* (1657), Chapter 3, §7, as it appears in Hilse, p. 35.

<sup>278</sup> *ibid.*, Chapter 3, §8 (Hilse, p. 35); also Bartel, pp. 114-15.

<sup>279</sup> *ibid.*, Chapter 43, §5 (Hilse, p. 122).

<sup>280</sup> *ibid.*, Chapter 16, §4 (Hilse, p. 77).

<sup>281</sup> Albrecht, p. 39.

<sup>282</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Chapter 3, §10, as it appears in Hilse, p. 35.



*multiplicatio, prolongatio, syncopatio catachrestica, passus duriusculus, saltus duriusculus, mutatio toni, inchoatio imperfecta, longinqua distantia, consonantiae impropriae, quaesitio note, and cadentiae duriusculae.*<sup>283</sup> According to Bernhard, Monteverdi invented and developed this style, and following him were Cavalli, Carissimi, Scacchi, and among the Germans, Schütz, Kerll, and Förster.<sup>284</sup>

The other subcategory, *stylus luxurians comicus (theatralis, recitativus, or oratorius)* referred to theatrical productions and in this category Bernhard listed among others, Monteverdi, Carissimi, and Luigi (Rossi) as composers worthy of imitation. Language was now considered 'the absolute master of music' and Bernhard focused more on word-painting and rhetorical figures by supplying eight more devices: *extensio, ellipsis, mora, abruptio, transitus inversus, heterolepsis, tertia deficiens, and sexta superflua.*<sup>285</sup>

In contrast to the above-mentioned stylistic classifications, as employed in the *Tractatus*, Bernhard, in his third treatise *Ausführlicher Bericht vom Gebrauche der Con- und Dissonantien* (A Thorough Account of the Use of Consonances and Dissonance), adopted a twofold arrangement of the figures; he distinguished between *figurae fundamentales* and *figurae superficiales*, drawing a parallel between the older categorization of figures into *principales* and *minus principales* and his new classifications, as they appeared in his *Bericht*. *Figurae fundamentales (principales)* comprised the principal musical devices inherent in fundamental composition or in the old style (*stylus gravis*), and included two such: *ligatura* and *transitus*. *Figurae superficiales* referred to the affective and *ornatus*-oriented rhetorical figures inherent in the modern, oratorical style (*stylus luxurians oratorius, recitativus*). This last category included a shorter list of figures including *superjectio, subsumptio, variatio, multiplicatio, ellipsis, retardatio, heterolepsis, quasitransitus, and abruptio.*<sup>286</sup>

<sup>283</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Chapter 21, §7 (see Hilse, p. 91); also Bartel, p. 115; Albrecht, p. 39.

<sup>284</sup> Snyder, 'Bernhard, Christoph', p. 439.

<sup>285</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Chapter 35, §12, and Chapter 43, §7 (Hilse, pp. 110-11 and 122-23).

<sup>286</sup> Bernhard, *Bericht*, Chapter 13, §6 (Hilse, p. 91); also Bartel, p. 118. See also Carl Dahlhaus, 'Die Figurae superficiales in den Traktaten Christoph Bernhards', in *Bericht über den internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Bamberg 1953*, ed. by Wilfried Brennecke and others (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1954), pp. 135-38.

What is notable in Bernhard's treatises, and particularly in his *Tractatus*, is his objective to "[...] explain and legitimize the occurrence and use of dissonance in a musical composition through the application of the musical-rhetorical figures."<sup>287</sup> In chapter sixteen of his *Tractatus*, he defined figure as "[...] a certain way of employing dissonances, which renders these not only inoffensive, but rather quite agreeable, bringing the skill of the composer to the light of day."<sup>288</sup> While Bernhard emphasized the proper musical reflection of the text, he did not relate specific figures with particular affects; he rather instructed students to emulate works of distinguished composers in each of the three styles.<sup>289</sup> Moreover, his novel contribution to the concept of *musica poetica* was the transference of figures to instrumental music, since they now became expressive tools employed not only by singers, but by instrumentalists as well.

Continuing the tradition established by Burmeister and later on by Kircher, Bernhard referred to the suitability of the musical-rhetorical figures in the *stylus recitativus*,<sup>290</sup> and thus maintained the strong bond between the dominant principles of the *stylus gravis* and the expressive dissonant devices of the *stylus luxurians*. However, in contrast to Kircher and Burmeister, Bernhard's analysis of motets did not explore the connection between musical and verbal rhetoric with a view to projecting the affections; he was rather more concerned with the way the motets were sung.<sup>291</sup> Leaning heavily on Gioseffe Zarlino's *Le institutioni harmoniche*, and under the influence of Heinrich Schütz's *stylus gravis*, Bernhard sought to develop a system that would assimilate the old compositional style with the emerging Italian improvisatory practice that was being diffused from the South to the North.<sup>292</sup>

<sup>287</sup> Bartel, p. 113. For further readings on Bernhard's dissonance figures, see Hellmut Federhofer, 'Christoph Bernhards Figurenlehre und die Dissonanz', *Die Musikforschung*, 42 (1989), 110-27.

<sup>288</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Chapter 16, §3, as it appears in Hilse, p. 77.

<sup>289</sup> Leon W. Couch III, p. 16.

<sup>290</sup> "Until the art of music has attained such a height in our own day that it may indeed be compared to a rhetoric, in view of the multitude of figures, particularly in the newly founded and, up to this present moment, ever more embellished recitative style" (Bernhard, *Bericht*, Chapter 13, §4, as it appears in Hilse, pp. 90-91). For a similar translation, see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 121.

<sup>291</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>292</sup> Bartel, pp. 118-19; also Snyder, 'Bernhard, Christoph', p. 439.



The 'Italianization' of German musical thought, which was acknowledged in Bernhard's compositional treatises, was also reflected in the writings of Wolfgang Caspar Printz (1641-1717). His most important treatise *Phrynis Mytilenaeus, oder satyrischer Componist* (Dresden & Leipzig, 1696) has generally been underrated, "[...] even though it is one of the most extensive summaries of music theory written in Germany in the 17<sup>th</sup> century."<sup>293</sup> Focusing on melodic embellishment rather than harmonic context, Printz defined an embellishment or *variatio* as "an artful modification of a given musical passage."<sup>294</sup> In his introduction to the figures, he stated that the material was equally useful for the singer and the composer,<sup>295</sup> especially for composers who, "[...] although skilled in their art, lack their own *inventiones*; working with these figures as elements of 'variation' will not fail to stimulate the imagination."<sup>296</sup> Printz did not adopt any of the previous authors' classifications of the figures into *principales/ minus principales* or *fundamentales/ superficiales*, but applied his own division into silent and sounding figures. Silent figures referred to pauses, while sounding figures were classified into simple (which comprised stepwise, stationary, leaping, hovering, and mixed figures) and compound figures (which were further divided into running, hovering and mixed ones).<sup>297</sup>

<sup>293</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Printz, Wolfgang Caspar', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xx, pp. 381-82 (p. 382).

<sup>294</sup> Wolfgang C. Printz, *Phrynis Mytilenaeus oder satyrischer Componist* (Dresden & Leipzig: J. C. Mieth and J. C. Zimmermann, 1696), Part II, Chapter 8, §7, p. 46, cited and translated by Bartel, pp. 120-21.

<sup>295</sup> For the whole issue regarding improvised vocal ornamentation, diminution, and the adding of embellishments in music both by composers and performers, see John Butt, 'Improvised Vocal Ornamentation and German Baroque Compositional Theory: An Approach to "Historical" Performance Practice', *Journal of the Royal Musical Association*, 116.1 (1991), 41-62. For an expanded version of the same article, see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, pp. 121-65. Butt discusses vocal compositional treatises of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Praetorius, Bernhard, Printz) alluding to the continual interaction and 'dialogue' between composer and performer regarding figural ornamentation. While composers were expected to take over the performers' art, performers were to interpret and comprehend compositional theory focusing both on figural texture and contrapuntal structure. For further readings on diminutions in compositional practice, see Imogene Horsley, 'The Diminutions in Composition and Theory of Composition', *Acta Musicologica*, 35.2/3 (April-September 1963), 124-53.

<sup>296</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 151.

<sup>297</sup> Butt, *Bach Interpretation*, p. 19. See also Bartel, p. 120. Stepwise figures included *accentus*, *tremolo*, *grosso*, *circulo mezzo*, and *tirata mezza*, *bombi* was described as a stationary figure, leaping figures comprised *salto semplice* and *salti composti*, hovering figures involved *trillo* and



Printz related each figure to the appropriate performance style, particularly in singing, and expanded more on aspects of performance practice.<sup>298</sup> It was in his treatise entitled *Musica modulatoria vocalis* (1678) that he stated: “The notes should be sung at a consistent strength, so that they do not sound weak and strong by turns; it should rather be the text or the affect that requires either stronger or more soothing singing.”<sup>299</sup> The content of the term *figura*, employed by Printz as a heading for embellishments, introduced in treatises of later authors, such as Mattheson and Spiess, the differentiation between embellishments and expressive musical-rhetorical devices. While rhetorical figures comprised a digression from the norm that placed emphasis to the oration, ornamental figures were added to melody “[...] somewhat in the manner of salt to food.”<sup>300</sup> Embellishments were described by Mattheson as *figurae cantionis* or *Manieren* (Vogt and Spiess called them *figurae simplices*), while musical-rhetorical figures were described by Mattheson as *figurae cantus* (Vogt referred to them as *figurae ideales*, and Spiess as *figurae*). Although Printz did not contribute to a great extent to the concept of the musical-rhetorical figures, his focus on the ornamental melodic *figurae* demonstrates the growing influence of the Italian improvisatory practice in German musical thought, leading to a corresponding interest in melodic embellishment rather than only in harmonic and contrapuntal structure.<sup>301</sup>

An invaluable document for the theory and history of music, as well as an important commentary on the relationship between performing and composing practice, is to be found in Johann Georg Ahle’s (1651-1706) *Musikalisches Gespräche* (1695-1701).<sup>302</sup> Written in the form of a fanciful dialogue between

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*trilletto*, while, as mixed figures Printz named *corta*, *messanza*, and *suspirans*. Of the compound figures, running figures included *circulo*, *tirata*, *bombilans*, and *passagio*, hovering figures involved *tremamento longo*, while *mistichanza composta* was referred to as a mixed figure.

<sup>298</sup> For the definitions of figures in relation to singing, see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, pp. 132-34.

<sup>299</sup> Wolfgang C. Printz, *Musica modulatoria vocalis* (Schweidnitz, 1678), p. 21, cited and translated by Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 78.

<sup>300</sup> Printz, *Phrynus Mytilenaeus oder satyrischer Componist*, Part II, p. 46, cited and translated by Butt, ‘Improvised Vocal Ornamentation and German Baroque Compositional Theory’, p. 50.

<sup>301</sup> Bartel, pp. 121-22.

<sup>302</sup> Johann Georg Ahle, *Musikalisches Frühlings-, Sommer-, Herbst-, und Winter-Gespräche* (Mühlhausen: C. Pauli und T. Brückner, 1695-1701).



friends and the author,<sup>303</sup> the first and third volumes of the series (*Frühlings-* and *Herbst-Gespräche*) considered consonances, dissonances, cadences, and musical embellishments,<sup>304</sup> while the last volume (*Winter-Gespräche*) dealt with aspects of poetry, modes, and musical intervals.<sup>305</sup> It was in the second volume, *Sommer-Gespräche*, that Ahle presented his *Figurenlehre*, focusing directly on the rhetorical source of the figures and on their ensuing transfer to the musical context. As a distinguished poet,<sup>306</sup> Ahle “[...] was greatly concerned with text setting and the transfer of poetic rhetorical devices to music”,<sup>307</sup> and considered the composer’s first task was to observe rhetorical figures found in the text and then to reflect them in the musical structure. Musical grammar was regarded as subordinate to the affect and meaning of music, which were heightened through the rhetorical ‘*emphasis* figures’, devices employed to clarify the significance of the text.<sup>308</sup>

Although Ahle did not distinguish between different classifications of figures and did not provide any musical examples, he enumerated in one group not only rhetorical figures transferable to music,<sup>309</sup> but also those without any musical counterparts; these involved *asyndeton*, *polysyndeton*, and *synonymia*.<sup>310</sup> His unique point of departure demonstrated the various ways of applying rhetorical figures to the musical context by refining and rearranging the given text. The objective of the composer was, according to Ahle, not only the musical illustration of the text and the arousal of the affections, but the identification of

<sup>303</sup> George J. Buelow, ‘Ahle, Johann Georg’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), i, pp. 241-42.

<sup>304</sup> See Zay V. David Sevier, ‘Johann Georg Ahle on Voice Leading and Dissonance’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 20 (1976), 93-104.

<sup>305</sup> Buelow, ‘Ahle, Johann’, p. 242; also Bartel, pp. 122-23.

<sup>306</sup> Ahle was crowned poet laureate by Emperor Leopold I in 1680 (Buelow, ‘Ahle, Johann’, p. 241).

<sup>307</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 155.

<sup>308</sup> *ibid.*, p. 155; also Bartel, p. 123.

<sup>309</sup> These included *epizeuxis*, *anaphora*, *anadiplosis*, *climax*, *epistrophe*, *epanalepsis*, *epanodos*, *antithesis*, and *emphasis*.

<sup>310</sup> *Asyndeton* and *polysyndeton* referred to a lack or excess of conjunctions in a text, while *synonymia* was interpreted as an altered or modified repetition of a musical idea. For the definitions of figures, see Bartel, pp. 208-09, 369-70, and 405-09.

the rhetorical figures inherent in the text, which were to receive the appropriate musical expression.<sup>311</sup>

In the early eighteenth century, the musical-rhetorical treatises *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (1708) and *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732) by the German organist, composer, theorist and lexicographer Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748) constitute the consolidation of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *musica poetica* tradition. During his early years at Weimar, when Walther was working close to his cousin J. S. Bach,<sup>312</sup> he composed his *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition*, “[...] an important compilation of theoretical concepts drawn largely from treatises of the 17<sup>th</sup> century.”<sup>313</sup> After discussing important musical elements, such as notation and scales in the first part of the *Praecepta*, Walther then proceeds to the second part, entitled *Musicae poeticae*.<sup>314</sup> This section referred to the art of composition, including the practical application of musical material, such as intervals and chords, voice leading and contrapuntal procedure, the use of consonances and dissonances, the church modes, and the techniques most appropriate for the affective setting of text to music. Influenced by Christoph Bernhard,<sup>315</sup> Walther included musical-rhetorical figures in his discussion of dissonances,<sup>316</sup> and drew mostly on Bernhard’s *Ausführlicher Bericht* regarding definitions of terms and musical examples.<sup>317</sup> Both Walther and Bernhard understood musical-rhetorical figures as “[...] dissonances in a

<sup>311</sup> Bartel, pp. 124-25.

<sup>312</sup> Albrecht, p. 41.

<sup>313</sup> George J. Buelow, ‘Walther, Johann Gottfried’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxvii, pp. 59-61 (p. 60).

<sup>314</sup> Bartel, p. 132.

<sup>315</sup> Albrecht, p. 41.

<sup>316</sup> See Arnold Schmitz, ‘Die Figurenlehre in den theoretischen Werken Johann Gottfried Walthers’, *Achiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 9 (1952), 79-100.

<sup>317</sup> “In this treatise [*Praecepta*], [...] Walther, with acknowledgement, quotes musical examples from the *Ausführlicher Bericht* of Bernhard and borrows the terminology of the nine “superficial figures” of Bernhard’s treatise. Thus it is certain that Walther knew Bernhard’s work, particularly the *Ausführlicher Bericht*, and it is entirely possible that Bach, too, was acquainted with the theoretical works of Bernhard.” See Myron Rudolph Falck, ‘Seventeenth-Century Contrapuntal Theory in Germany,’ 2 vols (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1964), i, p. 137, cited in Albrecht, pp. 41-42.



composition resulting from composers emulating the embellishments which singers and instrumentalists were using in their performances.”<sup>318</sup>

Following Bernhard’s *Ausführlicher Bericht*,<sup>319</sup> Walther classified figures into *fundamentales* and *superficiales*. However, adapting Kircher’s and Thuringus’s list of the former, he incorporated into *figurae fundamentales* the suspension (*syncopatio*), the passing note (*commissura*), and the *fuga* (fugue). On the other hand, in defining *figurae superficiales* Walther embraced all the figures listed by Bernhard (*Bericht*), including the *superjectio*, *subsumptio*, *variatio*, *multiplicatio*, *ellipsis*, *retardatio*, *heterolepsis*, *quasitransitus*, and *abruptio*.<sup>320</sup>

Walther’s significant contribution to the music history of the German Baroque was the publication of his *Musicalisches Lexicon* in 1732, “[...] the first major music dictionary in German and the first in any language to include both musical terms and biographies of musicians from the past and present.”<sup>321</sup> Walther included in his *Lexicon* over fifty musical-rhetorical figures, which he listed alphabetically. His definitions of the various terms were strongly influenced by the rhetorical thinking of Thuringus, Janovka, Printz, Bernhard, and Ahle, theorists who had already developed their own distinctive concept in approaching the musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>322</sup> Consequently, Walther’s *Lexicon* served as a codification of existing musical knowledge,<sup>323</sup> while in defining the musical figures, he sought to accumulate all the diverse explanations assigned to each one by different authors.<sup>324</sup> Despite the unavoidable duplications and repetitions of the definitions supplied, Walther focused on the appropriate musical expression of the rhetorical figures inherent in the text. Moreover, it was in his *Musicalisches*

<sup>318</sup> Bartel, p. 133.

<sup>319</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 159.

<sup>320</sup> Bartel, p. 133.

<sup>321</sup> Buelow, ‘Walther, Johann’, p. 60.

<sup>322</sup> Thuringus had already stressed the *ornatus* character of the musical-rhetorical figures that would give the musical oration *varietatem* and *elegantiam*, while Janovka had emphasized their expressive character in arousing the affections. On the other hand, Printz had pointed out the function of the figures as ornamental embellishments, Bernhard considered them expressions of the dissonances, while Ahle had emphasized their primary rhetorical source and their consequent transfer into the musical context.

<sup>323</sup> Buelow, ‘Walther, Johann’, p. 60.

<sup>324</sup> See Hans Heinrich Eggebrecht, ‘Walthers Musikalisches Lexikon in seinen terminologischen Partien’, *Acta Musicologica*, 29 (1957), 10-27.

*Lexicon* that the term 'musical-rhetorical figure' was first employed, particularly when defining the figure *anaphora*, signifying, by this means, the rhetorical and musical expressive character of the related figure.<sup>325</sup> On the other hand, his definition of the term *figura*, as appeared in terms such as *figura corta* and *figura suspirans*, seems to agree with Printz's understanding of *figurae* or *variationes* as ornamental embellishments. However, Walther's conception of the musical-rhetorical figures shows a consolidation of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century theoretical sources, leading to an accumulation of musical terminology and definitions at a time when *musica poetica* was beginning to decline.<sup>326</sup>

The growing relationships between music and rhetoric were further developed by the German church musician, lexicographer, critic and theorist Johann Mattheson (1681-1764).<sup>327</sup> Mattheson, a multitalented personality,<sup>328</sup> compiled a number of significant writings on music,<sup>329</sup> of which *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739) is considered his literary peak. In this encyclopedic compendium Mattheson discussed all aspects of music and musical composition. The first part dealt with elementary historical matters, while the second was devoted to the composition of melody, the musical-rhetorical concepts and figures, and the theory of the affections. Finally, the third part included more complex issues, such as contrapuntal composition.<sup>330</sup>

<sup>325</sup> "Anaphora, αναφορά, von αναφέρω, refero, ist eine Rhetorisch-musicalische Figur, heisset so viel als Repetitio, und entstehet [...]", in *Musicalisches Lexicon*, Faksimile-Nachdruck (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953), p. 34.

<sup>326</sup> Bartel, pp. 134-35.

<sup>327</sup> Mattheson's views on affections, intervals, harmonies, rhythm, and tonality/ modality are discussed on pages 45-49 and 53-57 of this chapter. See also George J. Buelow, 'Mattheson, Johann', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xvi, pp. 139-44.

<sup>328</sup> Apart from his musical treatises, Mattheson's major works included operas, oratorios, and instrumental music, most of which was destroyed during World War II.

<sup>329</sup> These included: *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713), *Das forschende Orchestre* (1721), *Critica musica* (1722-25), *Der musicalische Patriot* (1728), *Exemplarische Organisten-Probe* (1719), *Grosse General-Bass-Schule* (1731), *Kleine General-Bass-Schule* (1735), *Kern melodischer Wissenschaft* (1737), *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (1741), *Die neueste Untersuchung der Singspiele* (1744), *Phthongologia Systematica* (1748), *Behauptung der himmlischen Musik* (1747), and *Matthesons bewährte Panacea* (1750).

<sup>330</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss; introduction to the translation, p. 12.



Focusing more on melodic expressiveness than on traditional counterpoint, Mattheson considered melody the basis of composition, and suggested that the composer concentrate on it in order to express and arouse the inner emotional states of the listener. As he mentioned in *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, “one also never really attains such clarity if the following guiding principle is not observed, through which we must set as our primary goal one affection (where not more than one) with each melody.”<sup>331</sup> Just as melody was the most important facet of music, Mattheson not only stressed that instrumental music was an imitation of vocal music, but also emphasized the affective power of vocal melody,<sup>332</sup> which was viewed “[...] in nature rather than mathematics, in empirical observation rather than theoretical speculation [...]”.<sup>333</sup>

Regarding the application of rhetorical terminology and process to musical composition, Mattheson presented a rational structure and delineated a musical rhetoric that equated the two arts through a methodological and procedural analogy.<sup>334</sup> Since antiquity the objective of both arts was considered the arousal of the affections, and, in the early treatises of Joachim Burmeister at the beginning of the seventeenth century, music was patterned after the nomenclature and devices of rhetoric. Musical rhetoric and musical affects were important tools for the Baroque composer who, just like the ancient orator, could form his composition stepping on the rhetorical *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elaboratio* (*decoratio* or *elocutio*).<sup>335</sup> The *inventio* involved the twelve so-called *loci topici*, which were standard rhetorical aids suitable for invention of ideas.<sup>336</sup> Of these *loci*, the *locus notationis* involved the form and disposition of the notes together with figures related to imitation, inversion, and repetition. The *locus descriptionis* included the portrayal of human affections through figures and metaphorical

<sup>331</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 5, §74, p. 318.

<sup>332</sup> Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music*, pp. 73-74.

<sup>333</sup> Bartel, p. 137.

<sup>334</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss; introduction to the translation, p. 13.

<sup>335</sup> The rhetorical structure and its application to musical composition is the subject of the following chapter in the present work (pp. 81-132).

<sup>336</sup> George J. Buelow, 'The *Loci Topici* and Affect in Late Baroque Music: Heinichen's Practical Demonstration', *The Music Review*, 27 (1966), 161-76.

tropes, while in the *locus exemplorum* Mattheson emphasized the imitation of the works of other composers.<sup>337</sup> The musical-rhetorical *dispositio*, on the other hand, could incorporate the six steps of the rhetorical *dispositio*, namely the *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*,<sup>338</sup> while the musical-rhetorical *decoratio* involved the pertinent application of musical-rhetorical figures by the composer.

Under the influence of the French and Italian ornamental tradition, which had already appeared in the treatises of W. C. Printz and heightened the natural expressiveness in musical composition, Mattheson distinguished between two different types of figures. The first group, referred to as *figurae cantionis*<sup>339</sup> or *modulatoria vocalem*, involved figures applied to melody by the performer (singer),<sup>340</sup> who "[...] should observe the composer's intentions, yet at the same time perform with ornament and artistry."<sup>341</sup> In this category Mattheson listed the following ornaments (*Manieren*): *accentus* (*appoggiatura* or *port de voix*), *tremolo*, *trillo*, *trilletto*, *groppo*, *circolo mezzo*, *tirata*, *ribattuta*, *tenuta*, *transitus*, *mordant*, and *acciacatura*.<sup>342</sup> The second classification, named as *figurae cantus*, included the striking musical-rhetorical figures used by composers,<sup>343</sup> and in this list Mattheson enumerated *epizeuxis* (*subjunctio*), *anaphora*, *epanalepsis*,

<sup>337</sup> All the *loci topici* are listed by Mattheson in the fourth chapter of the second part of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*; see Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §§23-85, pp. 285-99. See also the introduction to the translation, pp. 14-15; also Lenneberg, §§14-85, pp. 69-84.

<sup>338</sup> Mattheson defines and explains the musical illustration of the rhetorical concepts in an aria by Benedetto Marcello. See Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §§14-23, pp. 472-76. For a better translation with critical commentary on the subject, see Lenneberg, §§1-22, pp. 193-201.

<sup>339</sup> Lenneberg, 'Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', §50, p. 205: "Years ago our learned musicians wrote entire books to teach vocal ornaments. (They called them *figurae cantûs*; I call them *figurae cantionis*.) [...] Examples of these [*figurae*] may be found in, among other sources, the work of the former *Capellmeister* of Nuremberg, Andreas Herbst, as well as in Printz."

<sup>340</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 3, §5, pp. 264-65: "Thus we turn primarily to the actual and proper discipline of a skilled singer which shows how one is to conduct his voice with graces and in the most agreeable way."

<sup>341</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 143.

<sup>342</sup> *ibid.*, p. 144. The *Manieren* are listed and illustrated with musical examples in the third chapter of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* with the title 'On the Art of Singing and Playing with Graces'. See Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 3, §§1-60, pp. 264-80.

<sup>343</sup> Bartel, p. 138.



*epistrophe*, *anadiplosis*, *paronomasia*, *polyptoton*, *antanaclasis*, *ploce*, *exclamatio*, *parrhesia*, *paradoxa*, *epanorthosis*, *paraleipsis*, *aposiopesis*, and *apostrophe*.<sup>344</sup>

Influenced by Johann Georg Ahle, who had sought to identify the rhetorical counterparts of musical figures, Mattheson differentiated between two types of musical-rhetorical figures (*figurae cantus*) based on the rhetorical context.<sup>345</sup> The first group included the *figurae dictionis* or word-figures, which “[...] have a great similarity with the changes of the pitches into long and short ones, into ascending and descending ones, etc.”<sup>346</sup> Word-figures consisted of figures of repetition which served to ornament expression, and in this group Mattheson listed twelve such, among which was *epizeuxis* (*subjunctio*), *anaphora*, *epanalepsis*, *epistrophe*, *anadiplosis*, *paronomasia*, *polyptoton*, *antanaclasis*, and *ploce*.<sup>347</sup> The second classification, namely the *figurae sententiarum* or sentence-figures were “[...] concerned with entire phrases [*Sätze*], with their changes,

<sup>344</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §§45-51, pp. 482-84. In the last paragraph of Chapter 14 (§52), Mattheson briefly discusses the amplification figures, among which he includes *fugue*, *mimesis*, *expolitio*, and *distributio*: “One more thing to remember. The *fugue* must rightly be included among the figures of amplification, of which there are about thirty. These figures are more suitably useful for expansion, amplification, decoration, ornamentation, and show, than for the thorough persuasion of the spirit. In the *fugues*, as in a hothouse, we find *mimesis*, *expolitio*, *distributio*, and other blossoms that rarely develop into fruit [...]” (translation quoted here from Hans Lenneberg, ‘Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music’, p. 206).

<sup>345</sup> Before discussing the rhetorical sources of the musical figures, Mattheson, in Chapter 9 of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, emphasized the importance of expressing the punctuation inherent in the text, whether it be exclamations, parentheses, questions, or caesurae. See Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §§1-76, pp. 380-404. His attempt, furthermore, to distinguish between two different categories of figures leaning on the properties of grammar and language, testifies to his interest to correlate even more the methods and procedures of both disciplines.

<sup>346</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §41, p. 481.

<sup>347</sup> *ibid.*, Part II, Chapter 14, §45, p. 482: “Space and our purpose do not permit it, otherwise one could easily introduce here the 12 word-figures together with the 17 sentence-figures and see how many and which among them are fit for the decoration of a melody. For what is for example more common than the musical *Epizeuxis* [connection] or *Subjunctio* [joining], where one pitch is repeated strongly in the very same part of the melody?” According to Bartel (*Musica Poetica*, 1997, p. 141) Mattheson's source for the word- and sentence-figures was probably his contemporary Johann Christoph Gottsched who, in his *Ausführliche Redekunst* listed twenty-one *figurae dictionis* and twenty-three *figurae sententiarum*. Bartel (p. 140) translates *figurae dictionis* as word-figures; however, *figurae sententiarum* are interpreted as thought-figures and not as sentence-figures, which seems to be the actual meaning, since Mattheson differentiated between micro-structural (words) and macro-structural (sentences) level in music.



alterations, imitations, answers, etc.”,<sup>348</sup> namely figures “through which the entire sentence is accorded a certain affection [...]”<sup>349</sup> In *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* Mattheson listed seven *figurae sententiarum*, among which were *exclamatio*, *epanorthosis*, *paraleipsis*, *parrhesia*, *paradoxa*, *aposiopesis*, and *apostrophe*.<sup>350</sup>

The distinction between *figurae dictionis* and *figurae sententiarum* was related to the equation between musical and linguistic grammar. This concept linked word-figures dealing with the change of position and repetition (in a grammatical sense) of words and expressions, and sentence-figures involving the structure and alteration of whole sentences, with the analogous musical counterparts. Mattheson's understanding of music as 'sound-speech' (*Klangrede*) led to the analysis of both vocal and instrumental music according to rhetorical structure, since both music and rhetoric shared common principles and devices. However, apart from reaching a culminating point regarding the relationships between music and rhetoric, Mattheson's treatises contain the seeds of the decline of *musica poetica*, for he first spoke of innate inspirational attributes required on behalf of the composer for musical discovery.<sup>351</sup> His emphasis on natural musical invention not entirely aligned with the dominant principles of *praeceptum*, *exemplum*, and *imitatio* of early Baroque *musica poetica* would be reflected on J. N. Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788-1801).

The same distinction between those figures applied to musical composition by the composer and those improvised by the performer (singer) was adopted by Meinrad Spiess in his compositional treatise *Tractatus musicus compositorio-*

<sup>348</sup> Lenneberg, 'Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', §41, p. 202.

<sup>349</sup> Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 14, §41 (footnote), p. 242, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 141.

<sup>350</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §47, p. 483: "Concerning the sentence-figures, where the purpose in music is aimed at the whole modulation, who does not know of the usage of exclamations, three types of which have already been considered above as one part of the rhetoric of music? Where is *Parrhesia* [outspokenness] greater than in the composition of melody? One can almost touch *Paradoxa*, which presents something unexpected. The *Epanorthosis* or the echo takes place in almost all of counterpoint. The *Paraleipsis*, *Aposiopesis*, *Apostrophe*, etc., are all in some way at home in music."

<sup>351</sup> Albrecht, p. 43.



*practicus* (1745).<sup>352</sup> Despite his speculative understanding which viewed music in 'sounding mathematics',<sup>353</sup> Spiess was strongly influenced by the "past and recent authors"<sup>354</sup> including Kircher, Vogt, Walther, Heinichen, and Mattheson in applying rhetorical principles to music and defining a number of musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>355</sup>

Spiess identified two basic classifications of figures, both entitled *figurae musicae*. The first group, *Coloraturen* or *Manieren*, included the embellishments executed by the performer, the same named by Vogt *figurae simplices*.<sup>356</sup> In the second group Spiess embraced the musical-rhetorical figures (*Figurenlehre*) leaning heavily on Vogt's classification of the same figures as *figurae ideales*, namely figures related "[...] to the poetic effect of the music rather than to the specific motives employed."<sup>357</sup> Although Spiess did not adopt Vogt's unique characterization for the expressive musical-rhetorical figures, Vogt's list of the *Figurenlehre* served as Spiess's primary source for his musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>358</sup> While Spiess did not focus on figures as a means for the arousal of the affections, he was in favour of *musica poetica*'s orientation towards the expression of the text; this involved affective text-expressive musical-rhetorical figures (*figurae ideales*) employed to enhance the setting of text to music, which at the beginning of the Enlightenment would be transferred to instrumental music, leading to the end of the text-expressive and affection-oriented *musica poetica*.<sup>359</sup>

<sup>352</sup> Meinrad Spiess, *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (Augsburg: J. J. Lotter Heirs, 1745); see Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>353</sup> Spiess was also an advocate of the *a capella* style and was in favour of the predominance of the twelve church modes over the major-minor keys.

<sup>354</sup> Bartel, p. 144.

<sup>355</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Spiess, Meinrad', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxiv, pp. 180-81.

<sup>356</sup> Bartel, p. 147. In this category Spiess listed and defined thirteen figures: *variatio*, *curta*, *gropo*, *circulo*, *circulo mezzo*, *tirata*, *messanza*, *tenuta*, *ribatutta*, *superjectio*, *trillo*, *mordent*, and *acciaccatura*.

<sup>357</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 160.

<sup>358</sup> Bartel, pp. 147 and 451-52. In his list of musical-rhetorical figures Spiess included the *abruptio*, *accentus*, *anabasis/ ascensus*, *catabasis/ descensus*, *anaphora*, *antithesis/ contrapositio*, *antistaeon*, *aposiopesis*, *anticipatio*, *retardatio*, *emphasis*, *ethoponia/ mimesis*, *diminutio*, *imitatio*, *metabasis*, and *tnesis/ section*.

<sup>359</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

The decline of *musica poetica* is associated with the writings of Johann Adolph Scheibe (1708-1776) and Johann Nikolaus Forkel (1749-1818). Scheibe is mostly known for his new aesthetics and theory of music and particularly for his criticism of Johann Sebastian Bach's musical style,<sup>360</sup> which he presented in the sixth issue of his *Der critische Musikus* (1737). Bach never responded directly to Scheibe's verbal attacks, but he was defended by contemporary theorists and writers, such as Johann Abraham Birnbaum<sup>361</sup> (Professor of Rhetoric at Leipzig University), Lorenz Mizler (the Leipzig amateur musician and journalist), and Christoph G. Schröter.<sup>362</sup> Although Scheibe has unjustifiably been accused of jealousy and rancour against J. S. Bach,<sup>363</sup> since the latter did not support his application as organist at the Nikolaikirche in 1729, Scheibe had a great respect for Bach's music and was surprised that Bach had become involved in the defences made by Birnbaum and others.

In the forefront of the Enlightenment, Scheibe spoke for simplicity of melodic and harmonic design, for imitation of nature which "[...] is moreover the true essence of music, just as it is of oratory and poetry",<sup>364</sup> together with the primacy of expressive singing melody.<sup>365</sup> Regarding Bach's music, Scheibe considered that

This great man would be the admiration of whole nations if he had more amenity [*Annehmlichkeit*], if he did not take away the natural element in his pieces by giving them a turgid [*schwülstig*] and

<sup>360</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (Hamburg, 1738; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1740; complete, Leipzig, 1745; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970).

<sup>361</sup> Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance*, p. 33.

<sup>362</sup> George J. Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 101 (1974-75), 85-100. See also Harold Gleason, 'The Scheibe-Bach Controversy', *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, 4 (September 1940), 24-25.

<sup>363</sup> It was Philipp Spitta who, in Bach's biography (1883-85) stated: "Scheibe was ambitious and jealous; he had 'agitated' against Bach ever since, and had stirred up, or, at any rate promoted a tide of opinion, which, so early as 1731, had put Bach and his adherents on the defensive", in Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*, trans. by Clara Bell and A. Fuller Maitland, 3 vols (London: Novello, 1899), iii, pp. 252-53.

<sup>364</sup> Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, p. 375, cited and translated by Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music*, p. 55. See also George J. Buelow, 'Scheibe, Johann Adolph', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxii, pp. 445-46 (p. 446).

<sup>365</sup> Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', p. 96.



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confused style, and if he did not darken their beauty by an excess of art.<sup>366</sup>

Scheibe maintained that Bach's music was old-fashioned, since the latter was an advocate of the *stile antico* and the old contrapuntal style, and consequently his music was not composed according to the nature of 'good musical taste'. As a result, he accused Bach of adopting a bombastic style full of artificial contrapuntal intricacies, leading to a conflict between his labour and nature. Another feature of Bach's music Scheibe strongly denounced was the exchange of styles between instrumental and vocal music; this, according to him, resulted in unnatural performing demands upon singers and instrumentalists, since Bach obviously composed his music as if it were to be performed on the keyboard. Finally, Scheibe criticized Bach's use of embellishments, for he would write out all sorts of ornamentation the performer should execute, while the majority of composers would leave it to the realization of the performer. He furthermore considered that Bach's application of ornaments together with his contrapuntal elaborateness obscured both the beauty of melodic naturalness and the harmonic design, a concept not aligned with the natural textural simplicity of the pre-Classic style Scheibe was advocating.<sup>367</sup>

Scheibe's comments on Bach's musical writing do not show any personal vendetta against the great composer; rather they demonstrate his musical philosophy, a result of the change of styles taking place in the middle of the eighteenth century, an era that symbolized the end of German Baroque music. Following Mattheson's music aesthetic, Scheibe rejected the old idea that viewed music in a theologically- and dogmatically-based perspective, and emphasized a new concept according to which music was considered an imitation of nature.<sup>368</sup> Accordingly, musical invention depended on the inborn talent of the composer who, guided by nature, would express human emotions

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<sup>366</sup> *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enl. by Christoph Wolff (1945; 1966; New York: Norton, 1998), p. 338.

<sup>367</sup> Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', pp. 95-97.

<sup>368</sup> Bartel, p. 156.

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[...] through the strength of his imagination [...] as if he found himself in those circumstances he wished to express [musically]. Pain, fear, anxiety, etc. must touch him, otherwise his [musical] expression will be either artificial or feeble.<sup>369</sup>

Furthermore, under the influence of the Enlightenment, Scheibe spoke for a new style of music with 'good taste' based on artistic equilibrium between senses and reason. While early Baroque *musica poetica* treatises emphasized the character of composition formed by *praeceptum*, *exemplum* and *imitatio*, the emerging Classical style emphasized a new aesthetic goal of music oriented towards natural melodic invention. According to Scheibe, harmony and any display of artistic skill violated the natural expression of the passions, since the new objective of music favoured the composition of beautiful expressive melody,<sup>370</sup> "for it was not harmony but melody that communicated emotion."<sup>371</sup>

Under the influence of Johann Christoph Gottsched, Professor of Poetry and Rhetoric at Leipzig University, Scheibe, in his *Der critische Musikus* (1737) focused on the similar goals of music and rhetoric by justifying the application of common devices (figures) in both arts for the expression of the affects. Based on the rhetorical *Figurenlehre*, Scheibe attempted to establish a musical parallel, since rhetoric formed a means to explain devices and expressions that already belonged to music. Commencing from the origin of the musical-rhetorical figures in vocal music, Scheibe was the first to apply explicitly and extensively musical-rhetorical figures to instrumental music. Despite the fact that figures were rooted in vocal music focusing always on the arousal of the affections, Scheibe's *Figurenlehre*, applicable now to purely instrumental music, had lost their initial

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<sup>369</sup> Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, p. 101, cited in Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', p. 99.

<sup>370</sup> Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', p. 99. Scheibe's plea for melodic expressiveness is emphasized in the following statement: "It is melody which makes the symphony beautiful, moving, forceful and sublime. It is melody through which we reveal and represent to the listeners, without words and without further explanation, what they are about to see more extensively and distinctly. It is melody then whereby all kinds of affects and passions can be aroused and expressed - a substantial proof that melody is the chief and most splendid element of music and therefore that it is to be very much preferred to harmony" (Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, pp. 598-99, cited and translated by Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music*, p. 57).

<sup>371</sup> Hosler, p. 56.



text-expressive orientation. Although both Ahle and Mattheson had tried to explain figures in terms of musical text application (Ahle) and text punctuation (Mattheson), the text-expressive character of *musica poetica* is absent in Scheibe's concept. Musical-rhetorical figures were employed in both instrumental and vocal music with a view to arousing and expressing the affections; figures such as *exclamatio* (exclamation) and *interrogatio* (questioning) which were found originally in vocal music and expressed exclamatory and questioning effects, could be applied in instrumental music and retain their affective expressiveness.<sup>372</sup>

Influenced by his predecessors who had distinguished between melodic embellishments and musical-rhetorical figures, Scheibe paralleled the figurative ornamental embellishments (*verblühten Auszierungen*) with the rhetorical tropes; these in rhetoric included symbolical forms and expressions that modified specific words in order to deviate metaphorically from their actual literal meaning. Accordingly, a musical embellishment ornamented a particular note or phrase that received the 'literal meaning' of another note which was actually only implied. These embellishments, which according to Scheibe were now applied by the composer and not by the performer, were not to be confused with figures, which altered utterly and affected the structure and context of the composition.<sup>373</sup>

Discussing the expressive musical-rhetorical figures, Scheibe, influenced by Gottsched's *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, listed a small number of affective figures, which included *exclamatio*, *dubitatio*, *ellipsis*, *hyperbaton*, *repetitio*, *paronomasia*, *distributio*, *antithesis*, *suspensio*, *interrogatio*, *epistrophe*, and *gradatio*. Although he could have included, as he mentioned, a larger number of figures, Scheibe considered the task of the composer was to invent new ones based not on a given text, but on his inspiration and inventiveness.<sup>374</sup> While the Baroque composer was expected to consult masters of the past for the application of figures in order to arouse the rationalized emotional states (affections), the composer in the forefront of the Enlightenment would be guided by nature and his

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<sup>372</sup> Bartel, pp. 149-51.

<sup>373</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 151-53.

<sup>374</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 154-55; also Albrecht, pp. 66-67.

music would be based on his personal experiences.<sup>375</sup> As Scheibe mentioned in his *Compendium musices* (1730),

Like a poet, the composer must be a skillful imitator of nature. Just as the former hates an overly pompous and bombastic character, so must also the composer always shun heavy-handed and jumbled characters, striving rather to reflect nature in all things [...].<sup>376</sup>

The final decline of *musica poetica* and musical-rhetorical figures is encountered in Johann Nikolaus Forkel's *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (1788-1801). Forkel (1749-1818) represented the new spirit of philosophy and aesthetic in music in an era which saw radical scientific, philosophical, and social changes. The first volume of his *Allgemeine Geschichte* was published in 1788, one year before the French Revolution (1789), whilst empirical philosophy favoured new scientific investigations and advocated a novel music aesthetic. Under the influence of Descartes's *cogito ergo sum*, authoritative systems such as church and society were to be replaced by the human and the value of the individual. It was unavoidable that the same views would be reflected in music, and, as a result, *musica poetica*'s objective principles based on teachable concepts (*praeceptum*, *exemplum*, and *imitatio*) gave way to personal musical expression.<sup>377</sup> Rationalized emotional states (affections) were now considered highly subjective, since music was "to depict pleasant passions and feelings, in other words to contribute to man's well-being and to delight him"<sup>378</sup> and display "[...] the necessity for genius *and* rules, nature *and* art, *Feuer* and *Fleiss*."<sup>379</sup> Under this spirit, music was a profound and serious expression of the complex

<sup>375</sup> Buelow, 'In Defence of J. A. Scheibe against J. S. Bach', p. 99.

<sup>376</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Compendium musices theoretico-practicum* (1730); new edn, *Die deutsche Kompositionslehre des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by Peter Benary (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1961), §9, p. 75, cited in Albrecht, p. 66 (footnote). The emphasis on the imitation of nature as being the basis for poetry formed the philosophy of Christian Wolff and Johann Christoph Gottsched, according to which everything was to be determined by imitation of natural laws that influenced the poem's unity and clarity. See David A. Sheldon, 'The Fugue as an Expression of Rationalist Values', *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 17.1 (June 1986), 29-51 (p. 36).

<sup>377</sup> Bartel, pp. 157-58.

<sup>378</sup> Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach für Deutschland auf das Jahr 1784* (Leipzig, 1784), p. 26, cited and translated by Hosler, p. 178.

<sup>379</sup> Hosler, p. 178.



phenomena of the emotions that, according to natural laws, were subject to an ongoing and ever-changing continuum,<sup>380</sup> while musical-rhetorical figures, employed to depict the text, were considered old-fashioned and were therefore ignored.<sup>381</sup>

The portrayal of personal emotions formed the basis of eighteenth-century aesthetic and composers aimed to depict individual passions and sentiments in their music rather than words related to a specific text.<sup>382</sup> Music would imitate even natural sounds such as birdcalls, while in 1808 Beethoven would describe his Pastoral Symphony “as a matter more of feeling than of painting in sounds” (*mehr Ausdruck der Empfindung als Mahlerei*).<sup>383</sup> Furthermore, the idea that the composer would follow the paradigm of the orator (or preacher) in order to work on his ideas and construct his music on a three-fold basis (beginning-middle-end) was available for Schumann’s criticism in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>384</sup>

On the other hand, since music was expected to reflect the ‘inner stamp’ of the composer,<sup>385</sup> the formulaic *loci topici*, an indispensable tool of the *inventio* part of ancient oratory, were ultimately rejected. Forkel, in his *Allgemeine Geschichte* replaced *inventio* with principles concerned with musical phrasing and construction, appropriate musical styles (church music), and genres (fugues), while, anachronistic as it may seem, he discussed musical-rhetorical figures, but now in terms of impressions and sentiments.<sup>386</sup> For Forkel, a musical figure was not a counterpart of a rhetorical one; rather it would depict both the image of an

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<sup>380</sup> Hosler, p. 179. Forkel wrote: “If it is observed that in nature everything is subject to constant change, that things gradually come into being, then disappear, then similarly arise again, then the aesthetic theorist can easily conclude that even emotions, as well as physical objects, are subject to this necessary course nature. From this follows the law of multiplicity in the representation of our feelings. When, for example, the feeling of annoyance over something arises in a man’s heart, the feeling will not remain for long at a given point, but will swell to wrath, vengeance or madness, or it will diminish and revert to satisfaction” (Forkel, *Musikalischer Almanach*, pp. 31-32, cited and translated by Hosler, p. 180).

<sup>381</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 272.

<sup>382</sup> George B. Stauffer, ‘Forkel, Johann Nikolaus’, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ix, pp. 89-91.

<sup>383</sup> *Thayer’s Life of Beethoven*, rev. and ed. by Elliot Forbes, 2 vols (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1964), i, p. 436.

<sup>384</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 272.

<sup>385</sup> Hosler, p. 185.

<sup>386</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 272; also Bartel, p. 160.

impression and the source that gave rise to a particular sentiment. The portrayal of sentiments was accomplished through the 'figures for the imagination' (*Figuren für die Einbildungskraft* or *Malerei*), which related musical to emotional form and activated the faculties of the understanding and the imagination by either reproducing an object or representing the inner feeling aroused by an external stimulus.<sup>387</sup> According to Forkel,

Feelings express themselves in very manifold ways. They sometimes stop all of a sudden, arise again, intensify more and more, then recede, etc., and the imagination can form an image of these so multiply modified utterances which seem to be visible, even. The transmission of this image in the form of expression occurs through the so-called figures for the imagination.<sup>388</sup>

As such Forkel listed *ellipsis*, *repetitio*, *paronomasia*, *suspensio*, *epistrophe*, *dubitatio*, and *gradatio*, of which the last one was considered the most effective figure representing a constantly growing passion.<sup>389</sup> In another category entitled 'figures for the intellect' (*Figuren für den Verstand*) Forkel discussed various contrapuntal structures employed for expressive purposes. Although previous authors tended to include fugue as one of those, Forkel, in his defence of double counterpoint, considered fugue an instrumental procedure that was assigned a novel social meaning, since independent melodic lines were viewed as a representation of the emotional utterance of a multitude from different levels in a society.<sup>390</sup> Fugue and fugal procedures reflected the musical expression of an entire *Volk*, which

[...] through the narration of a great event is put into emotion, and [...], perhaps through the intensity of his feelings is driven to make a short powerful statement as the expression of his feeling. Will not this outburst of his feeling gradually grip the collective members of this people, and will he not be followed by first one, then several, then most, and each will sing the same song with him, each, to be sure, modifying it according to his own way of feeling, but on the whole concurring with him as to the basic feeling: And if such a scene, such

<sup>387</sup> Bartel, p. 163.

<sup>388</sup> Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte*, p. 55, cited and translated by Hosler, p. 187.

<sup>389</sup> Hosler, p. 187.

<sup>390</sup> Bartel, p. 162; also George B. Stauffer, 'Forkel, Johann Nikolaus', p. 90.



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a progressively developing outburst of emotion is to be represented musically, do not first the *dux*, then the *comes*, then the *repercussio* arise in the most natural way in the world - in short, the whole outer and inner form of the fugue?<sup>391</sup>

It was due to the transition from church and society to individual, from objectivity to subjectivity, and from rationalized emotional states to personal sentiment and taste that rhetoric reached its nadir at the end of the nineteenth century. The rhetorical influence on compositional thought remains a controversial issue in modern musicology, since contemporary scholars tend to refute the transfer of rhetorical methods and principles to musical discipline. What musical rhetoric attempted to establish was not a similar behaviour and semantics between the two disciplines, since no one can claim that notes in music behave in the same way as do words in discourse.<sup>392</sup> Musical rhetoric focused on methodological and procedural analogy between music and language which included the application of rhetorical structure and rhetorical figures.

However, the transfer of rhetorical figures to music did not involve "[...] a transposition of the linguistic effect on to some other plane",<sup>393</sup> since music adopted such rhetorical devices aiming to the same aesthetic goal, namely the excitement of the passions in the minds of the listeners. In verbal rhetoric, the arousal of the affects did not depend only on the prominent use of striking figures on behalf of the orator, but also on the specific formal division of a speech, since each part of a discourse required separate use or avoidance of figures. Consequently, it was in rhetorical *exordium* and *peroratio*, namely at the beginning and end of a speech that the orator would elaborate more so that he attracted the attention of the audience. The transition from rhetoric to musical rhetoric will be the subject of the following chapter.

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<sup>391</sup> Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, pp. 47-48, cited and translated by Hosler, p. 186.

<sup>392</sup> This is supported by Brian Vickers in his article 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', *Rhetorica*, 2 (1984), 1-44, who rejects the concept of musical rhetoric and the alliance between rhetorical and non-linguistic disciplines.

<sup>393</sup> Brian Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', pp. 40-41: "Music can reproduce the general emotional effect, of course, but it cannot embrace the specific verbal structure and the whole dimension of meaning. [...] From the detailed comparisons I have made it clear that the musical application of a figure is always more limited than its rhetorical function, and that it usually involves a transposition of the linguistic effect on to some other plane."

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## 2. FROM VERBAL TO MUSICAL RHETORIC

Aristotle, in his *The "Art" of Rhetoric* (c. 330 BC), defined oratory as the art of speaking well and observed that

Rhetoric [...] may be defined as the faculty of discovering the possible means of persuasion in reference to any subject whatever. This is the function of no other of the arts, each of which is able to instruct and persuade in its own special subject.<sup>1</sup>

The art of persuasion was highly esteemed among the ancient Greeks, and the first signs of their inclination towards impressive speaking can be traced back to the eighth century BC in societies where writing had not been yet introduced. Homer, the 'Father of Oratory', in his epic poems *The Iliad* and *The Odyssey*, supplies the first instances of public speaking, where the orator acquired rhetorical conventions and formal styles through practice and imitation.<sup>2</sup> The ninth book of the *Iliad* contains a famous set of fine discourses, most of which employ devices of invention and arrangement, before they were actually named and written down. For instance, Odysseus's speech, appealing to Achilles to return to battle against the Trojans, is carefully ordered.<sup>3</sup> Beginning with a *proemium*, aiming to secure his audience's goodwill, Odysseus continues with his *propositio* (that Achilles had to come back to the army and help the Greek ships), and carries on to the next section, the *narratio*, namely the development of the situation. Following the *narratio*, Odysseus then moves to the *confirmatio*, and introduces five reasons - proofs - why Achilles should take the field again, the last two of which are *pathos*-laden, aiming to appeal to Achilles' emotions. As will be shown later on, it was at the beginning (*exordium*) and the end (*peroratio*) of a classical speech that

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<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, in twenty-three volumes, Loeb Classical Library, xxii (1926): *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, trans. by J. H. Freese (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press), Book I, ii. 1, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> George A. Kennedy, *Classical Rhetoric and its Christian and Secular Tradition from Ancient to Modern Times*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, p. xi.



the orator would employ passionate language in order to appeal to the emotions of his audience.<sup>4</sup>

The island of Sicily, an ancient Greek colony, is considered the place where the art of rhetoric was formulated before it was introduced to the mainland of Greece.<sup>5</sup> After the expulsion of the tyrants in 467 BC and the re-establishment of democracy, citizens of Syracuse in Sicily were often involved in court cases where they had to defend themselves on matters regarding the recovery of their property.<sup>6</sup> Under these circumstances, a Syracusan named Corax (or Tisias) taught techniques related to effective argumentation that would assist the pleadings of his clients in court.<sup>7</sup> Corax compiled numerous handbooks on rhetoric entitled '*Arts*' (rhetorical handbooks) and was considered "the artificer of persuasion" (in ancient Greek: *πειθους δημιουργός*).<sup>8</sup> He later wrote down simple speeches (pleadings) that consisted either of three parts, namely the *exordium* (*proemium*), the *argumentatio/ refutatio*, and the *peroratio* (epilogue), or of five, with the addition of the *narratio* after the *exordium*, and the subsidiary aids before the *peroratio*.<sup>9</sup>

Gorgias, a native of Leontini in Sicily (c. 483-375 BC) and one of the most famous Greek Sophists, is credited with introducing the art of rhetoric to Greece, when he visited Athens as a Sicilian ambassador in 427 BC.<sup>10</sup> Rhetoric, according to his view, was a means of persuasion, and his objective was to train his pupils to become skilful rhetoricians, able to discourse on any subject, without evaluating the inherent merit and honour of the topic discussed.<sup>11</sup> His oratorical style was dominated by unusual poetical vocabulary, flowery ornamentation, and

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<sup>4</sup> Kennedy, pp. 8-9.

<sup>5</sup> Albrecht, 'Musical Rhetoric', p. 7.

<sup>6</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, pp. xii-xiii.

<sup>7</sup> Kennedy, p. 21. According to Kennedy, Corax (meaning crow in Greek) and Tisias were probably the same person with Corax being a nickname for Tisias, while according to J. H. Freese (Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, p. xiv), Tisias was a pupil of Corax, both of them Syracusans. The latter seems to be more probable.

<sup>8</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, p. xiii.

<sup>9</sup> *ibid.*, p. xiii. The subsidiary or auxiliary aids to the speech should not be interpreted as digressions (*digressio*) often encountered in classical rhetoric. The function of the *digressio* in classical oratory will be explained in the following pages.

<sup>10</sup> *ibid.*, p. xiv.

<sup>11</sup> Albrecht, pp. 7-8.

manipulative techniques which soon attracted the attention of his audience.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, his language was governed by symmetrical sentences, while particular devices, known later as *schêmata* in Greek (figures or schemes), such as *homoeoteleuton* (similar endings in successive phrases) and *parison* (clauses of equal length) characterized his style.<sup>13</sup> Gorgias's speeches were highly respected not only due to his particular elaborate style, but also because they demonstrated logical arrangement and argumentation. His extant oration *Encomium of Helen* demonstrates the division of a speech into the *exordium* (*proemium*), the *narratio* (narration), the *argumentatio* (proof), and the *peroratio* (epilogue).<sup>14</sup>

Plato (427-347 BC) and his famous student Aristotle (b. 384 BC) objected to the style of rhetoric the Sophists propagated, and the former, in his earlier dialogue the *Gorgias*, focused on the nature of rhetoric, which he considered the tool of persuasion.<sup>15</sup> As becomes obvious at the conclusion of the dialogue, one had to study to become proficient, and flattering language should be avoided, as rhetoric's function was to persuade the audience in courts of a just case.<sup>16</sup> In contrast to the majority of rhetoricians who sought to persuade their audiences through deceitful and manipulative means (regardless of intrinsic truth and justice), Plato suggested a style of rhetoric uttered by a moral speaker, who would appeal to the emotions of the listeners, with the power of persuasion grounded on truth and honesty.<sup>17</sup>

The status of oratory was undoubtedly elevated through the writings of Aristotle who, in his *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, developed a systematic and scientific approach attacking previous rhetorical theories; they had neglected proofs (*enthymemes* or rhetorical syllogisms) and argumentation, and had confined their remarks to emotional appeals with a view to predisposing the judge.<sup>18</sup> Aristotle's first book of *The "Art" of Rhetoric* dealt with logical proofs and means of persuasion; the second one focused on psychological or ethical proofs that

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<sup>12</sup> Albrecht, p. 8. See also Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, pp. xiv-xv.

<sup>13</sup> Kennedy, pp. 34-35.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*, p. 35.

<sup>15</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, p. xxii.

<sup>16</sup> Kennedy, p. 65.

<sup>17</sup> Albrecht, pp. 8-9.

<sup>18</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, p. xxxv.



depended on human emotions and different sorts of character, while discussions of style, delivery, and arrangement were treated in his third book.<sup>19</sup> Aristotle introduced a new style of rhetoric with an inherent integrity, one that was orderly and established on rules that were formulated by virtue and honesty.<sup>20</sup> According to his view, rhetoric was a “[...] counterpart of dialectic”,<sup>21</sup> since, with regard to differences in subject matter, “dialectic usually deals with philosophical or at least general questions, rhetoric with concrete or practical ones.”<sup>22</sup> Logical reasoning and proofs, rather than simple arousal of the emotions, were considered the basic means for the orator to succeed in his art. As Aristotle stated,

It is obvious, [...], that a system arranged according to the rules of art is only concerned with proofs; that proof is a sort of demonstration, since we are most strongly convinced when we suppose anything to have been demonstrated; that rhetorical demonstration is an enthymeme, which, generally speaking, is the strongest of rhetorical proofs; and lastly, that the enthymeme is a kind of syllogism.<sup>23</sup>

Furthermore, in the first book of *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, Aristotle defined three basic kinds of oratory: deliberative (hortatory, political or dissuasive discourses), forensic (judicial speeches, either accusatory or defensive), and epideictic debates (declamatory or demonstrative).<sup>24</sup> The deliberative (political) kind was viewed as an exhortation towards or dissuasion from a particular course of future action, while judicial oratory was concerned with either prosecution or defence of past actions, according to the law, leading to the determination of the just or the unjust. Finally, the third kind, demonstrative or epideictic oratory, dealt with praise or censure of objects or persons (belonging to the past, present, or future) that were

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<sup>19</sup> Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, pp. xxv-xxvi. See also Kennedy, pp. 74-93 (p. 79).

<sup>20</sup> Albrecht, p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, Book I, i. 1, p. 3.

<sup>22</sup> Kennedy, p. 81. Apart from differences in subjects, Kennedy also points out different functions of rhetoric and dialectic. While rhetoric involved continuous discourse on behalf of the orator usually addressing a large miscellaneous audience, dialectic adopted the question-and-answer form of debate including one-to-one arguments; see Kennedy, pp. 80-81. Also Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, p. 474.

<sup>23</sup> Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, Book I, i. 11, p. 9.

<sup>24</sup> For the three types of oratory according to Aristotle, see *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, particularly the analysis-summary of Book I on pp. xxxv-xl, as well as the main text in Book I, iii. 1-7, pp. 33-37. See also Sonnino, *A Handbook to Sixteenth-Century Rhetoric*, p. 243.

noble or disgraceful, with a view to judging them as honourable or dishonourable.<sup>25</sup>

Regardless of the kind of rhetorical speech the speaker would have to address, Aristotle suggested that the arrangement - *dispositio* -<sup>26</sup> of a good discourse consisted of two basic parts: the statement of the case (*narratio*) and the proofs (*confirmatio*). In some cases, particular circumstances from one speech to the next might require that the orator frame his speech with an introduction (*exordium*) and an epilogue (*peroratio*), but in no case should a discourse incorporate more than four parts (*exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio*). The *exordium* and the *peroratio* served as aids to memory, while Aristotle considered the *refutatio* (refutation of the opponent's arguments) part of the proofs (*confirmatio*) and not a separate division in itself.<sup>27</sup>

The *exordium* was an introduction to the case discussed and its function was to arouse or remove prejudice, and to secure the goodwill, understanding, and attention of the audience.<sup>28</sup> The *exordium* and the *peroratio* were regarded as the most affective parts of the speech, designed to persuade and move the emotions of the listeners. Since audiences would be listening with the greatest attention at the beginning of a speech, regardless of the language employed, Aristotle suggested that the orator could also employ effective utterance in other parts of the speech,

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<sup>25</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, pp. xxxv-xl (in the analysis) and Book I, iii. 1-7, pp. 33-37 (in the main text). For a summary of the three functions of the Aristotelian rhetoric, see Albrecht, pp. 10-11.

<sup>26</sup> Classical rhetoric included five indispensable stages: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoratio*, and *actio* (or *pronuntiatio*). These stages, with references to Quintilian and Cicero, will be discussed in the following pages.

<sup>27</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, Book III, xiii. 4-5, p. 427: "So then the necessary parts of a speech are the statement of the case and proof. These divisions are appropriate to every speech, and at the most the parts are four in number - exordium, statement, proof, epilogue; for refutation of an opponent is part of the proofs, and comparison is an amplification of one's own case, and therefore also part of the proofs; for he who does this proves something, whereas the exordium and the epilogue are merely aids to memory." Regarding the refutation of the adversary, Aristotle considered that in demonstrative and epideictic speeches, whose point was to prove a case, there was no room for a refutation.

<sup>28</sup> As the Romans put it, the *exordium* had a triple function to perform, namely to *reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, dociles*; see Francis P. Donnely, 'A Function of the Classical Exordium', *The Classical Weekly*, 5 (1911/12), 204-07 (p. 204). Latin references to the parts of a rhetorical speech, particularly those by Quintilian and Cicero, will be discussed in the following pages.



particularly where appeals to the emotions were needed.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, speaking of the *exordium* in epideictic orations, Aristotle compared it with the prelude in flute playing (Greek *προαύλιον* > *proaulion*) and stated:

The proem is the beginning of a speech, like a prologue in poetry and a prelude in flute playing; for all these are beginnings, and pave the way, as it were, for what follows. Indeed, the prelude is like the proem of epideictic [speeches]; for as the flute players begin by playing whatever they can execute skillfully and connect it with the keynote, so also should be, in epideictic speeches, the composition [of the proem]; [one should] say at once whatever one likes, give the keynote, and continue.<sup>30</sup>

On the other hand, in forensic speeches and epic poems, the *exordia* usually provided a foretaste of the subject to be discussed, so that the hearers knew in advance the end or the purpose of the speech.<sup>31</sup> It was the same for comedy as for tragedy. Tragic poets, particularly, clarified the topic of their drama either at the outset or at some point in the prologue of the story, enabling the listeners to follow the plot.<sup>32</sup>

Aristotle suggested that the *exordium* be followed by the *narratio*, which, just like the *exordium* or the *confirmatio*, should not be long, but must state all the facts related to the subject. According to Aristotle, the *narratio* could be introduced in several places during the speech, as its function was to make clear the moral purpose and nature of the case. At the same time, the speaker was

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<sup>29</sup> Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, Book III, xiv. 9-10, p. 435: "Further, engaging the hearers' attention is common to all parts of the speech, if necessary; for attention slackens everywhere else rather than at the beginning. Accordingly, it is ridiculous to put this at the beginning, at a time when all listen with the greatest attention. Wherefore, when the right moment comes, one must say, 'And give me your attention, for it concerns you as much as myself'; [...] for all in their exordia endeavour either to arouse prejudice or to remove their own apprehensions [...]."

<sup>30</sup> *ibid.*, Book III, xiv. 1. Translation of the original passage quoted here from Warren Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32.1 (1979), 1-44 (p. 3). Kirkendale provides his own version of the ancient Greek passage aiming at a literal translation of the Greek text.

<sup>31</sup> At the beginning of the *Odyssey*, for instance, the poet introduces the subject of his poem to the reader by asking the Muse to narrate the story of Odysseus: "Tell me of the man, O Muse", cited by Aristotle, *The "Art" of Rhetoric*, Book III, xiv. 6, p. 431.

<sup>32</sup> *ibid.*, Book III, xiv. 6, p. 431.

expected to prove his own moral character and to arouse emotional responses in his audience, such as pity and indignation.<sup>33</sup>

The third part of the rhetorical speech, immediately after the *narratio*, was the *confirmatio* (the proofs of the arguments). Aristotle maintained that proofs should be demonstrative in deliberative speeches, always related to the point disputed, to the harm done in a particular case, and to its importance and its justification.<sup>34</sup> In epideictic oratory, where there was little dispute regarding the facts, since they were usually taken on trust, Aristotle suggested that the orator employ amplification in order to prove that they were true and relevant.<sup>35</sup> Finally, rhetorical syllogisms or arguments (*enthymemes*) were mostly suited to forensic speeches, which dealt with cases belonging to the past, and they were usually concerned with existent or non-existent facts, to which demonstrative and necessary proofs were usually applied.<sup>36</sup>

The final stage of the rhetorical discourse was, according to Aristotle, the conclusion (epilogue or *peroratio*), which comprised four basic elements: “[...] to dispose the hearer favourably towards oneself and unfavourably towards the adversary [...]”,<sup>37</sup> to expand on or deprecate the main facts, to arouse the intended emotions in the listeners, and finally to recapitulate the arguments. Commenting on the different functions assigned to the *exordium* and the *peroratio*, Aristotle claimed that “in the exordium [one] should state the subject, in order that the

<sup>33</sup> Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, Book III, xvi, pp. 443-51.

<sup>34</sup> *ibid.*, Book III, xvii. 1, p. 451: “Proofs should be demonstrative, and [...] the demonstration should bear upon the particular point disputed; for instance, if the fact is disputed, proof of this must be brought at the trial before anything else; or if it is maintained that no injury has been done; or that the act was not so important as asserted; or was just, then this must be proved [...]”

<sup>35</sup> *ibid.*, Book III, xvii. 3, p. 453. Amplification (*auxesis*) is discussed in Book I, ix. 38-41, pp. 103-05. “Amplification is with good reason ranked as one of the forms of praise, since it consists in superiority, and superiority is one of the things that are noble. [...] Speaking generally, of the topics common to all rhetorical arguments, amplification is most suitable for epideictic speakers, whose subject is actions which are not disputed, so that all that remains to be done is to attribute beauty and importance to them” (Book I, ix. 39-40, pp. 103-05).

<sup>36</sup> *ibid.*, Book I, ix. 40-41, p. 105: “Enthymemes are most suitable for forensic speakers, because the past, by reason of its obscurity, above all lends itself to the investigation of causes and to demonstrative proof.”

<sup>37</sup> *ibid.*, Book III, xix. 1, p. 467.



question to be decided may not escape notice, but in the epilogue [one] should give a summary statement of the proofs.”<sup>38</sup>

The art of oratory reached its zenith during the second century BC, when it was introduced to Rome by well-off Romans who had visited Greece to study philosophy and rhetoric.<sup>39</sup> The earliest Latin rhetorical treatises date from the first century BC, when M. T. Cicero (106-43 BC) and later on M. F. Quintilian (c. AD 39-96) compiled the most significant works on the art of persuasion.<sup>40</sup> Cicero’s most important treatises included *De inventione* (c. 89 BC), *De oratore* (written approximately thirty years after *De inventione*), *De optimo genere oratorum* (52 BC), *De partitione oratoria* (46 BC), and *Topica* (44 BC). In the majority of his rhetorical works Cicero discussed rhetoric and its particular elements, while in *De oratore*, a more mature version of *De inventione*, he focused on the characteristics of a good orator and the objectives of a successful oratory. According to him, a capable orator should be able to use proper voice inflection, gestures, dynamics, and demeanour during his speech, so that he carried out his task: to please (*delectare*), instruct (*docere*), and move (*movere*) his audience.<sup>41</sup>

Marcus Fabius Quintilian defined rhetoric as “the *science of speaking well*”<sup>42</sup> (*bene dicendi scientia*), and his most extensive rhetorical treatise *Institutio oratoria*, compiled five years before his death, served as a handbook for the education of the future orator. Apart from setting forth the indispensable tools for a successful oration, Quintilian was mostly concerned with the well-rounded training of the perfect orator, who should be, above all, a moral person.<sup>43</sup> Quintilian was a humane educator, a moderate and reasonable man,<sup>44</sup> who related oratory closely to ethics, since, according to him, a good orator had also to excel in his morality. As he stated in the preface of his first book,

<sup>38</sup> Aristotle, *The “Art” of Rhetoric*, Book III, xix. 4, p. 469.

<sup>39</sup> Kennedy, p. 100.

<sup>40</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 101-08.

<sup>41</sup> Albrecht, pp. 13-16.

<sup>42</sup> *The Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, trans. by H. E. Butler, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1920-22), i (1920; repr. 1969), Book II. xv. 34, pp. 314-15.

<sup>43</sup> Albrecht, pp. 17-18.

<sup>44</sup> Kennedy, pp. 115-18 (p. 115).

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My aim, then, is the education of the perfect orator. The first essential for such an one is that he should be a good man, and consequently we demand of him not merely the possession of exceptional gifts of speech, but of all the excellences of character as well.<sup>45</sup>

Both Cicero and Quintilian stated that a good oration should include the following five essential stages: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoratio*, and *actio* or *pronuntiatio*.<sup>46</sup> The *inventio* concerned the discovery of ideas, the determining of the orator's arguments and contents of his speech, together with the gathering of relevant information designed to influence the audience. The *dispositio* involved the arrangement of the material in a logical order,<sup>47</sup> while the *elocutio* (*elaboratio* or *decoratio*) dealt with the ornamentation and elaboration of the material, in other words the application of rhetorical figures that would give greater emphasis to the arguments. The last two steps, the *memoratio* and the *actio* (*pronuntiatio*), comprised memorization and correct utterance (lucidity and charm) on the part of the orator. The latter included the control of voice and body and the adding of gestures and inflections of the voice (lowering or raising) in specific parts of the speech, with a view to stirring the emotions of the hearers.<sup>48</sup>

The first part of the rhetorical process, the *inventio*, focused on the determination of the subject matter the orator was to speak about. According to Cicero, "[...] he must first hit upon what to say; then manage and marshal his discoveries, not merely in orderly fashion, but with a discriminating eye for the

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<sup>45</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, i (1969), Book I, Pr. 9-10, pp. 8-11.

<sup>46</sup> "The art of oratory, as taught by most authorities, and those the best, consists of five parts: - *invention*, *arrangement*, *expression*, *memory*, and *delivery* or *action* (the two latter terms being used synonymously)", in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book III. iii. 1, pp. 382-83. Cicero, in his *De inventione*, applies the same structure: "Therefore the material of the art of rhetoric seems to me to be that which we said Aristotle approved. The parts of it, as most authorities have stated, are *Invention*, *Arrangement*, *Expression*, *Memory*, *Delivery*", in Cicero, in twenty-eight volumes, Loeb Classical Library, ii (1949): *De inventione*, *De optimo genere oratorum*, *Topica*, trans. by H. M. Hubbell (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); *De inventione*, Book I. vii. 9, pp. 18-19. Although Cicero in his *De partitione oratoria* included a slightly altered version and order (*inventio*, *collocatio*, *elocutio*, *actio*, and *memoria*), the function of the five stages was the same. See Cicero, in twenty-eight volumes, Loeb Classical Library, iv (1942): *De oratore: Book III*, *De fato*, *Paradoxa stoicorum*, *De partitione oratoria*, trans. by H. Rackham (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); *De partitione oratoria*, p. 307.

<sup>47</sup> Albrecht, pp. 51-52.

<sup>48</sup> Bartel, pp. 66-68. See also Kennedy, p. 102.



exact weight as it were of each argument [...].”<sup>49</sup> In cases where the speaker did not possess the power of invention, standard rhetorical devices called *loci topici* were at his disposal, suitable for the coining of ideas.<sup>50</sup> Quintilian described them as *sedes argumentorum* (places of argument),<sup>51</sup> which responded to the three questions of whether a thing is (*an sit*), what it is (*quid sit*), and of what kind it is (*quale sit*).<sup>52</sup> Cicero, in his *De partitione oratoria* spoke of “arguments, which are derived from topics that are either contained in the facts of the case itself or are obtained from outside.”<sup>53</sup>

One of the most striking conventional topics was the *locus notationis*, in other words, names of persons or things that could give rise to many ideas, while the *locus descriptionis*, the most essential *locus*, involved the depiction of human emotions. Furthermore, the *locus causae efficientis* dealt with arguments drawn from the causes of particular past or future actions that provided tools for invention, while the *locus causae materialis* included the definition and analysis of the origins of a matter, namely from what (*ex qua*), in what (*in qua*), and with what (*circa quam*). The *locus effectorum*, on the other hand, focused on the goals and effects of particular phrases, and the *locus circumstantiarum* encompassed the circumstances of time and place, those preceding, accompanying, and following a certain act. Finally, the *locus comparationis* involved comparisons between similar and dissimilar things, while the *locus testimoniorum* embraced the

<sup>49</sup> Cicero, in twenty-eight volumes, Loeb Classical Library, iii (1942): *De oratore: Books I and II*, trans. by E. W. Sutton (London: Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); Book I. xxxi. 142, pp. 98-99.

<sup>50</sup> George J. Buelow, ‘The *Loci Topici* and Affect in Late Baroque Music: Heinichen’s Practical Demonstration’, *The Music Review*, 27 (1966), 161-76.

<sup>51</sup> Quintilian discusses the *loci topici* in Book V of his *Institutio oratoria*; see *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1921; repr. 1977), Book V. x. 20-95, pp. 212-53. “But I do not use this term in its usual acceptance, namely, commonplaces directed against luxury, adultery, and the like, but in the sense of the secret places where arguments reside, and from which they must be drawn forth” (Book V. x. 20, pp. 212-13).

<sup>52</sup> Buelow, ‘The *Loci Topici* and Affect in Late Baroque Music’, p. 162. Johann Mattheson, in the second part of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, discusses the *loci topici* by referring to the *ars inveniendi* in musical composition; see *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §§23-85, pp. 285-99. See also pp. 111-12 of the present work.

<sup>53</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, ii. 5, pp. 312-13.

quotation of someone else's phrases or material, which, when quoted at the right moment, served as proof or confirmation.<sup>54</sup>

Following the *inventio*, the central part of the rhetorical procedure was the *dispositio*, which involved the working out of the material and the orderly distribution of the contents.<sup>55</sup> Cicero and Quintilian agreed that a successful *dispositio* consisted of four indispensable parts: the *exordium*, the *narratio*, the *confirmatio/refutatio*, and the *peroratio*. According to Cicero, "two of them, the statement of the facts and the proof, serve to establish the case, and two, the exordium and the peroration, to influence the mind of the audience."<sup>56</sup> In other words, "[...] the first and the last are the parts that serve for arousing emotion - for introductions and perorations must appeal to the emotions -, while the second division, narrative, and the third, proof, are the parts that procure belief in what is said."<sup>57</sup> Particular circumstances in different speeches determined the function of the *dispositio*, the flexibility of which depended on the case at hand, so that any of the above-mentioned parts could be included in or omitted from a speech.<sup>58</sup>

The first subheading of the *dispositio* was the *exordium*, the introduction to the speech, whose function, as already stated by Aristotle, was to attract the listeners' attention with a view to securing their goodwill and understanding.<sup>59</sup> Its

<sup>54</sup> Before discussing the musical illustration of the *loci topici*, Mattheson referred to their initial rhetorical function; see Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §25, p. 286; §43, p. 290; §53, p. 292; §54, p. 293; §70, p. 295; §77, p. 297; §79, p. 297; §83, p. 298. The importance of the rhetorical *loci topici* was stressed by Quintilian in the fifth book of his *Institutio oratoria*: "Well, then, to give a brief summary of the whole question, arguments are drawn from persons, causes, place and time (which latter we have divided into preceding, contemporary and subsequent), from resources (under which we include instruments), from manner (that is, how a thing has been done), from definition, genus, species, difference, property, elimination, division, beginnings, increase, consummation, likes, unlikes, contradictions, consequents, efficient, effects, results, and comparison, which is subdivided into several species", in Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book V. x. 94, pp. 252-53.

<sup>55</sup> Kennedy, p. 102.

<sup>56</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, i. 4, pp. 312-13.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid.*, viii. 27, pp. 330-33.

<sup>58</sup> Sharon Lee Gorman, 'Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Praeludia of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1990), p. 25.

<sup>59</sup> In other words, to *reddere auditores benevolos, attentos, and dociles*, that is well-disposed, attentive and receptive to the speaker. Quintilian devoted the first chapter of Book IV of his *Institutio oratoria* to the discussion of the *proemium* or *exordium*. See Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. i, pp. 6-49. Also Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, viii. 28-31, pp. 332-35; Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. xv. 20-xviii. 27, pp. 40-53. Cicero suggested four places (*loci*) that the orator should look into in order to secure goodwill: the character of the orator, the character of



purpose was “[...] to prepare [the] audience in such a way that they will be disposed to lend a ready ear to the rest of [the] speech”,<sup>60</sup> and it was the task of the orator to adapt the *exordium* to the particular kind of case at hand, whether it be an honourable, mean, doubtful or ambiguous, extraordinary, or an obscure one.<sup>61</sup> Considering the nature of the case, Cicero distinguished between two kinds of *exordium*: the *principium*, “[...] an address which directly and in plain language makes the auditor well-disposed, receptive, and attentive”, and the *insinuatio*, “[...] an address which by dissimulation and indirection unobtrusively steals into the mind of the auditor.”<sup>62</sup> While the *principium* was identified with the Greek *proemium*, serving as a general introduction to the matter that was to be put forward, the *insinuatio* or “subtle approach”, according to Cicero, was used when the case was difficult, and particularly when the minds of the auditors were hostile.<sup>63</sup> In such cases, Cicero advised the orator:

[...] You must conceal your intention of defending the point which you are expected to defend. After that, when the audience has now become more tractable, approach the defence little by little and say that the things which displease your opponents are also displeasing to you.<sup>64</sup>

To conclude, the *exordium* was an opening section, its length depending on the nature of the case,<sup>65</sup> aiming to arouse the emotions of the listeners, for which purpose Quintilian favoured the attentive application of striking expressions and

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the opponent, the judges, and the case itself (see *De inventione*, Book I. xvi. 22, pp. 44-47). For definitions of the terms *benevolos*, *attentos*, and *dociles*, see Francis P. Donnelly, ‘A Function of the Classical Exordium’, pp. 204-07.

<sup>60</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book IV, i. 5, pp. 8-9.

<sup>61</sup> Kennedy, pp. 103-04. See also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. i. 40, pp. 26-27. The same five cases are also discussed by Cicero; see *De inventione*, Book I. xv. 20, pp. 40-41.

<sup>62</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. xv. 20, pp. 42-43.

<sup>63</sup> Warren Kirkendale, ‘Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach’, p. 25. Kirkendale adopts the Ciceronian division of the *exordium* into the *principium* and the *insinuatio*, with a view to projecting the two different kinds of the *exordium* in musical composition and particularly in J. S. Bach’s Musical Offering, establishing the hypothesis that Bach composed his Musical Offering according to Quintilian’s *Institutio oratoria*. This theory has been refuted by Christoph Wolff.

<sup>64</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. xvii. 24, pp. 48-49.

<sup>65</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. i. 62, pp. 40-41: “The length of the *exordium* will be determined by the case; simple cases require a short introduction only, longer *exordia* being best suited to cases which are complicated, suspect or unpopular.”

effective figures.<sup>66</sup> Although the *exordium* was considered the introduction to the speech, Quintilian maintained that particular circumstances might require that a speech begin without an *exordium*, while in other cases, a brief *exordium* appealing to the judges' attention and goodwill could be introduced within the *narratio* (statement of the facts), or even within the *confirmatio* (proofs).<sup>67</sup>

At the conclusion of the *exordium*, the orator should make clear whether he intended to pass to the *narratio* or to the *confirmatio*, but whichever the next step was, the transition from the introduction to the following stage should be smooth and easy.<sup>68</sup> In most cases,<sup>69</sup> the *exordium* was followed by the *narratio*, the statement of the case, which was "[...] an explanation of the facts and as it were a base and foundation for the establishment of belief."<sup>70</sup> As Quintilian stressed,

[...] Since the purpose of the *exordium* is to make the judge more favourably disposed and more attentive to our case and more amenable to instruction, and since the *proof* cannot be brought forward until the facts of the case are known, it seems right that the judge should be instructed in the facts without delay.<sup>71</sup>

The objective of the *narratio* was not merely to instruct, but also to persuade the judge and the audience, for which purpose Quintilian considered that it should

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<sup>66</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book IV. i. 64, pp. 40-41; i. 70, pp. 44-45: "Occasionally however some striking expression of thought is necessary in the *exordium* which can be given greater point and vehemence if addressed to some person other than the judge. [...] Still such artifices, although they may be employed at times to good effect, are not to be indulged in indiscriminately, but only when there is strong reason for breaking the rule."

<sup>67</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. i. 72, pp. 44-47; i. 73, pp. 46-47: "Such are the rules for the *exordium*, wherever it is employed. It may however sometimes be dispensed with. For occasionally it is superfluous, if the judge has been sufficiently prepared for our speech without it or if the case is such as to render such preparation unnecessary. [...] On the other hand it is at times possible to give the force of an *exordium* to other portions of the speech. For instance we may ask the judges in the course of our *statement of the facts* or of our *arguments* to give us their best attention and good-will [...]."

<sup>68</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. i. 76-77, pp. 46-47.

<sup>69</sup> Quintilian mentions that there can be particular cases where the *narratio* can be dispensed with, as for example in brief cases, which may require only a brief summary rather than a full *narratio*. See *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. ii. 4-9, pp. 50-55. Another case, though not very frequent, was that of the *narratio* being completed "within the limits of the *exordium*." See Book IV. i. 24, pp. 18-19.

<sup>70</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, ix. 31, pp. 334-35.

<sup>71</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. ii. 24, pp. 62-63.



possess certain qualities, such as lucidity, clearness, and brevity.<sup>72</sup> According to him,

[...] The *statement of fact[s]* more than any portion of the speech should be adorned with the utmost grace and charm. [...] The rhythm should be unobtrusive, but as attractive as possible, while the figures must neither be derived from poetry nor such as are contrary to current usage, [...], but should be designed to relieve tedium by their variety and should be frequently changed to relax the strain of attention.<sup>73</sup>

In addition to these indispensable properties, which tended to provide a brief and succinct report of the case in hand, Quintilian favoured the occasional application of short digressions and hints of proofs within the *narratio*; proofs, particularly, should be presented “[...] in such a way that it is never forgotten that we are making a *statement of facts* and not a proof.”<sup>74</sup> Finally, Quintilian stressed that even in the *narratio* the speaker should include a brief appeal to the emotions of the audience, a function usually appended to the *exordium* and the *peroratio*;<sup>75</sup> with regard to this, Cicero in his *De partitione oratoria*, advocated that

[...] A statement has the quality of charm when it comprises causes for surprise and suspense and unexpected issues, with an intermixture of human emotions, dialogues between people, and exhibitions of grief, rage, fear, joy, and desire.<sup>76</sup>

Cicero suggested that the *narratio* be followed immediately by the proof of the case, in other words the means used to strengthen the arguments, and these could be divided into two categories: the *confirmatio* and the *refutatio*

<sup>72</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book IV. ii. 36, pp. 68-71; ii. 40-41, pp. 72-73: “We shall achieve lucidity and clearness in our statement of facts, first by setting forth our story in words which are appropriate, significant and free from any taint of meanness, but not on the other hand farfetched or unusual. [...] The *statement of facts* will be brief, if in the first place we start at that point of the case at which it begins to concern the judge, secondly avoid irrelevance, and finally cut out everything the removal of which neither hampers the activities of the judge nor harms our own case.” According to Cicero, “[...] clarity and convincingness in the statement of the case are essential, but we also add charm” (*De partitione oratoria*, ix. 31-32, pp. 336-37).

<sup>73</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. ii. 116, pp. 112-13; ii. 117-18, pp. 112-15.

<sup>74</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. ii. 54, pp. 78-79.

<sup>75</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. ii. 115, pp. 112-13: “If you wait for the *peroration* to stir your hearer’s emotions over circumstances which you have recorded unmoved in your *statement of facts*, your appeal will come too late.”

<sup>76</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, ix. 32, pp. 336-37.

(*reprehensio*).<sup>77</sup> The *confirmatio* was considered the most important part of the rhetorical *dispositio*, and Quintilian stated that “[...] any single one other than the *proof* may on occasion be dispensed with. But there can be no suit in which the *proof* is not absolutely necessary.”<sup>78</sup> The aim of the *confirmatio* was to secure credence, authority, and strength, and to prove the speaker’s case “by inference from probability”<sup>79</sup> in regard to persons (natural attributes, virtues and vices, circumstances, connections and resources); places (natural and accidental qualities); times (past, present, future, and their circumstances); and actions (designed or unintentional, the latter depending either on accidental or psychological factors).<sup>80</sup> Quintilian justified the placing of the *narratio* before the *confirmatio*, as being intended “[...] to prevent the judge from being ignorant of the question at issue.”<sup>81</sup> In such an arrangement, and since the verification of the case tended to secure credence to the points recently stated in the *narratio*, it was considered that the proofs of the *confirmatio* were easily drawn from the material presented in the *narratio*.<sup>82</sup>

However, Quintilian mentioned that certain rhetoricians were in the habit of prefacing the *confirmatio* with a short digression (*digressio*), namely deviations from the natural order of the speech “[...] to some pleasant and attractive topic with a view to securing the utmost amount of favour from their audience.”<sup>83</sup> Although Quintilian pointed out the close connection between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*, he suggested that particular circumstances might allow the placement of a digression as a link between the conclusion of the statement and the beginning of the proofs.<sup>84</sup> He furthermore admitted that, under certain conditions,<sup>85</sup> brief digressions could be appended to any other part of the

<sup>77</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, ix. 33, pp. 336-37.

<sup>78</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book V. Pr. 5, pp. 156-57.

<sup>79</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, ix. 33, pp. 336-37.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, ix. 34-xi. 41, pp. 336-41.

<sup>81</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. ii. 86, pp. 96-97.

<sup>82</sup> Gorman, p. 27.

<sup>83</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. iii. 1-2, pp. 122-23.

<sup>84</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 5, pp. 124-25.

<sup>85</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 4, pp. 124-25: “[...] only if the digression fits in well with the rest of the speech and follows naturally on what has preceded, not if it is thrust in like a wedge parting what should naturally come together.”



discourse, even in the *exordium*,<sup>86</sup> as long as they conferred distinction and adornment on the speech.<sup>87</sup> In some cases, Quintilian suggested the application of a digression as a second *exordium* “[...] with a view to exciting or mollifying the judge or disposing him to lend a favouring ear to our proofs”,<sup>88</sup> while in other cases, digressions “[...] may also serve as a kind of peroration after the main question.”<sup>89</sup>

Notwithstanding the intervention of digressions between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*, sometimes the *confirmatio* was prefaced by a section called *propositio*, in which the orator propounded what he was going to prove.<sup>90</sup> According to Quintilian, the *propositio* formed part of the *confirmatio* and was not a separate division of a forensic speech, since “[...] the beginning of every proof is a proposition, such as often occurs in the demonstration of the main question and sometimes even in the enunciation of individual arguments [...]”.<sup>91</sup> However, when put forward, the *propositio* should be employed with brevity, clearness, lucidity, and profit; superfluous language should be avoided, since the purpose of the speaker was not to explain what he was saying, but what he was about to say.<sup>92</sup>

On the other hand, the *refutatio* (*confutatio* or *reprehensio*) tended to impair and disprove the arguments and the objections that the opponent had developed against the defendant's case;<sup>93</sup> as stated earlier, Aristotle considered the refutation of an opponent part of the proofs and not a particular kind of argumentation in itself.<sup>94</sup> In his discussion of refutation, Cicero maintained that the defendant had either to deny the opponent's arguments by showing that they were imaginary or untrue, or to disprove the opposing statements. As a result, he should demonstrate

<sup>86</sup> Quintilian (*Institutio oratoria*) mentions Cicero's speech *Pro Milone* as an example of digressing in the *exordium*. See Book IV. iii. 17, pp. 130-31.

<sup>87</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 4, pp. 122-25.

<sup>88</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 9, pp. 126-27.

<sup>89</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 11-12, pp. 126-27.

<sup>90</sup> *ibid.*, i (1969), Book III. ix. 2, pp. 514-15.

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, ii (1977), Book IV. iv. 1, pp. 130-31.

<sup>92</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. v. 26-27, pp. 150-51.

<sup>93</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. xlii. 78, pp. 122-23.

<sup>94</sup> See this chapter, p. 85.

[...] first that doubtful points have been taken for certain, next that the same statements can also be made in the case of things manifestly false, and then that the results that he desires do not follow from his assumptions. But the proper way is to whittle them away one by one, and thus the whole of them will be demolished.<sup>95</sup>

Quintilian, however, considered the *refutatio* the duty of the defence orator only;<sup>96</sup> in any case, topics and arguments were drawn from the same material used in the proofs, since “[...] any proposition can be attacked by the same methods of reasoning by which it can be supported”,<sup>97</sup> while strong appeals to the emotions were inappropriate to the *refutatio*. Although Quintilian proposed certain methods for attacking the opponent’s arguments,<sup>98</sup> he suggested that defence orators neither repeated in their speeches the prosecutor’s charges and proofs, nor attempted to emphasize and amplify any of the opponent’s points that could damage the defendant’s case.<sup>99</sup>

The last stage of the structure of the *dispositio* was the *peroratio* (conclusion), which, according to Cicero was assigned two important principles: *amplificatio* and *enumeratio* (recapitulation).<sup>100</sup> *Amplificatio* was regarded as “[...] a sort of weightier affirmation [...]”<sup>101</sup> aiming to win credence and arouse the emotions of the listeners. In that case, the orator was advised to employ ornate vocabulary, in most cases metaphorical expressions, emphasized by repetition and by “[...] a gradual rise from lower to higher terms.”<sup>102</sup> Amplification of the facts was drawn from the same topics that served to secure credence in the proofs; this usually included “[...] accumulations of definitions, recapitulation of consequences, juxtaposition of contrary, discrepant and contradictory statements,

<sup>95</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, xii. 44, pp. 344-45.

<sup>96</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book V. xiii. 1-2, pp. 310-11.

<sup>97</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. xlii. 78, pp. 122-23.

<sup>98</sup> Quintilian, Book V. xiii. 11, pp. 316-19; xiii. 12, pp. 318-19: “We must further consider whether we should attack our opponent’s arguments *en masse* or dispose of them singly. We shall adopt the former course if the arguments are so weak that they can be overthrown simultaneously, or so embarrassing that it would be inexpedient to grapple with them individually. [...] Sometimes, if it is difficult to refute the statements made by our opponents, we may compare our arguments with theirs, at least if by such a procedure it is possible to prove the superiority of our own.”

<sup>99</sup> *ibid.*, Book V. xiii. 27, pp. 326-27.

<sup>100</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, xv. 52, pp. 350-51.

<sup>101</sup> *ibid.*, xv. 53, pp. 350-51.

<sup>102</sup> *ibid.*, xv. 54, pp. 350-51.



and statements of causes and their consequences, and especially analogies and instances.”<sup>103</sup> *Enumeratio* (recapitulation), on the other hand, occurred more often in judicial oratory and was employed mainly by the prosecution, aiming to strengthen the case at hand and delineate briefly the actual values of the arguments.<sup>104</sup> In his earlier treatise *De inventione*, Cicero pointed out that the *peroratio* involved the summing-up in one place of the main matters discussed throughout the discourse (*enumeratio*) in order to refresh the memory of the audience; also, the excitement of indignation (*indignatio*) and great hatred against the opponent, and finally the arousal of the pity and sympathy (*conquestio*) of the audience towards the speaker or a situation.<sup>105</sup>

Quintilian also maintained that one of the properties of the *peroratio* was the enumeration, which would place the whole case before the eyes of the judges; however, he stressed that the final recapitulation be brief and not a dry repetition of the facts, while the main points discussed be dealt with with weight and dignity.<sup>106</sup> In addition to that, and in contrast to the majority of the orators who considered recapitulation the sole form of peroration, Quintilian maintained that the most successful *peroratio* was the one that included appeals to the emotions of the judges.<sup>107</sup> Both the defender and the accuser could employ such appeals, but different methods were applied in each case, since it was the defender who would mostly seek the judges’ compassion with greater frequency and fullness.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, xvi. 55, pp. 352-53. Although amplification was considered part of the *peroratio* and used to appear at the end, Cicero suggested that the *amplificatio* “[...] be employed in the rest of the course of the speech, and particularly when some statement has either been supported or challenged” (*De partitione oratoria*, viii. 27, pp. 332-33).

<sup>104</sup> *ibid.*, xvii. 59-61, pp. 354-57. Cicero also mentions that the defendant could use enumeration rather rarely, since his point was to provide brief and effective counter-arguments to support his case. See *De partitione oratoria*, xvii. 60, pp. 356-57.

<sup>105</sup> Cicero, *De inventione*, Book I. lii. 98-lvi. 109, pp. 146-63.

<sup>106</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, ii (1977), Book VI. i. 1-3, pp. 382-83. Quintilian also held that “[...] recapitulation may be profitably employed in other portions of the speech as well, if the case is complicated and a number of different arguments have been employed in the defence; though no one will doubt but that there are many cases, in which no recapitulation at all is necessary at any point, assuming, that is, that the cases are both brief and simple” (see *Institutio oratoria*, Book VI. i. 8, pp. 386-87).

<sup>107</sup> *ibid.*, Book VI. i. 14, pp. 390-91: “The peroration also provides freer opportunities for exciting the passions of jealousy, hatred or anger.”

<sup>108</sup> *ibid.*, Book VI. i. 9, pp. 386-87. For instance, the accuser would attempt to enhance the atrocity of the action and incite the judges to give a strong and dispassionate verdict by putting forward the nature and manner of the act, that is the position of the victim, or the time, place and purpose of

The stirring of the emotions was a common property assigned both to the introduction (*exordium*) and the conclusion (*peroratio*) of the discourse; however, it was in the *peroratio* “[...] that the orator should display the full strength of his case before the eyes of the judge, and, [...] dwell on those points by which he himself would be most moved were he trying the case.”<sup>109</sup> Despite the common objective of the *exordium* and the *peroratio* with regard to the excitement of the emotions, Quintilian stressed the essential difference between the two sections:

For our attempts to sway the judges are made more sparingly at the commencement of the speech, when it is enough that such an attempt should gain admittance and we have the whole speech before us. On the other hand in the peroration we have to consider what the feelings of the judge will be when he retires to consider his verdict, for we shall have no further opportunity to say anything and cannot any longer reserve arguments to be produced later.<sup>110</sup>

On the other hand, he suggested that appeals to the emotions be abandoned when the desired emotion reached its height, and “for this reason [...] eloquence ought to be pitched higher in this portion of [the] speech than in any other [...]”<sup>111</sup> Moreover, passages resembling perorations could be briefly introduced in other parts of the discourse as well - even in the *narratio* -<sup>112</sup> as appropriate; for instance, in complicated cases, shorter perorations could be distributed throughout the speech with a view to stirring those emotions which “[...] present great variety, and demand more than cursory treatment, since it is in their handling that the power of oratory shows itself at its highest.”<sup>113</sup>

The third part of the rhetorical framework was the *elocutio* (*elaboratio* or *decoratio*), the section that involved the application of rhetorical figures, the technical devices employed by orators in order to embellish their ideas and create

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the action. The defender, on the other hand, would seek to arouse the goodwill and pity of the judges by presenting previous or present sufferings of the accused, or even by employing impersonation, that is fictitious speeches supposed to be uttered by the client himself (see Book VI. i. 12-36, pp. 388-405).

<sup>109</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book VI. i. 11, pp. 388-89.

<sup>110</sup> *ibid.*, Book VI. i. 10-11, pp. 388-89.

<sup>111</sup> *ibid.*, Book VI. i. 29, pp. 400-01.

<sup>112</sup> See the discussion of the *narratio* in this chapter, pp. 93-94.

<sup>113</sup> Quintilian, Book VI. ii. 2-3, pp. 416-17.



a greater persuasive effect. The *elocutio* encompassed four virtues known as *virtutes elocutionis*; these were *puritas* (*latinitas*, correct syntax), *perspicuitas* (lucidity and propriety in the use of words), *ornatus* (ornate language), and *aptum* (*decorum*, fitting of form to content).<sup>114</sup> It was in the third virtue (*ornatus*) that the theory of 'rhetorical pathology', namely the calming or arousing of the emotions, originated.<sup>115</sup> In classical rhetoric, while simple recitation of statements (facts) could be dealt with in ordinary language, the defender's appeal to the emotions of the judge involved the application of special linguistic devices. The excitement of the passions required a language far removed from merely technical and dry delivery, and it was here that the theory of rhetorical figures and tropes was developed. Although both figures and tropes were considered digressions from ordinary and comprehensible types of expression, certain features tended to distinguish the one from the other.<sup>116</sup> While tropes were metaphorical expressions that included paraphrases and digressions from the original meaning of a word or a phrase, figures were regarded as syntactical conformations of the speech, usually employing deviations from the natural structure and order of words and sentences.<sup>117</sup> These figures of speech served to portray the orator's thoughts and embellish his discourse with elaborate language. They were, according to Quintilian, the "[...] effective method of exciting the emotions [...]",<sup>118</sup> and as Christoph Gottsched observed in the middle of the eighteenth century, "[...] they possess a certain fire, and through their magic throw a spark into the heart of the reader or listener, and similarly set them aflame."<sup>119</sup>

The two final stages of the art of rhetoric were the *memoratio*, namely the memorization of the oration, and the *actio* or *pronuntiatio*, the delivery of the speech with the addition of proper gestures and voice inflections.<sup>120</sup> Memory was

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<sup>114</sup> Bartel, p. 67.

<sup>115</sup> Albrecht, p. 53.

<sup>116</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

<sup>117</sup> The expressive differences between figures and tropes, and the importance of figures in arousing the emotions, are extensively discussed in the first chapter of the present work. See Chapter 1, pp. 18-21, with references to Quintilian, Susenbrotus, and Gottsched.

<sup>118</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1921; repr. 1976), Book IX. i. 21, pp. 358-59.

<sup>119</sup> Johann Christoph Gottsched, *Versuch einer critischen Dichtkunst*, p. 314, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 72.

<sup>120</sup> Albrecht, p. 54; Bartel, p. 67.

closely connected to the first stage of the rhetorical process, the *inventio*, since the orator had to relate effectively the varying ideas conceived during his speech to his main subject. Therefore, as well as being able to memorize a planned discourse, the speaker was expected to possess or develop his improvisatory skills. One of the basic strategies in committing something to memory was, according to Quintilian, the infusion of specific *loci* (*loci topici*, as in the *inventio*) in the mind, since “[...] it is an assistance to the memory if localities are sharply impressed upon the mind, a view the truth of which everyone may realise by practical experiment.”<sup>121</sup> These particular *loci* were reduced to images or symbols that served as cues or independent inventions, which stimulated and activated the memory.<sup>122</sup> As Quintilian mentioned,

We require, therefore, places, real or imaginary, and images or symbols, which we must, of course, invent for ourselves. By images I mean the words by which we distinguish the things which we have to learn by heart [...].<sup>123</sup>

On the other hand, the *actio* or *pronuntiatio* concerned itself with the study of suitable enunciation and control of the body, both subsidiary means for effective communication between the orator and his audience.<sup>124</sup> Moreover, correct utterance together with *pathos*-laden oratory was considered of great significance to the *ethos* and the success of the orator in arousing the emotions of his audience. Quintilian devoted the major part of Book XI of his *Institutio oratoria* to the discussion of methods of memorization and proper gesticulation. As he declared, the flow of the voice “[...] will be raised to express violent emotion[s], and sink when our words are of a calmer nature, rising and falling according to the demands of its theme.”<sup>125</sup> Cicero also suggested that the orator

<sup>121</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iv (1922), Book XI. ii. 17, pp. 220-21.

<sup>122</sup> Gregory G. Butler, ‘The Fantasia as a Musical Image’, *The Musical Quarterly*, 60 (1974), 602-15 (pp. 607-08).

<sup>123</sup> Quintilian, Book XI. ii. 21, pp. 222-23.

<sup>124</sup> The influence of the rhetorical *actio* (*pronuntiatio*) permeated also the Baroque theatre, which favoured the employment of the appropriate hand and facial gestures in acting; see Gorman, p. 11. For figurative gestures, as illustrated through the figures *hypobole* and *hyperbole* in Baroque performance, see Henshaw, ‘Music, Figure and Affection in Baroque Performance’, pp. 40-42.

<sup>125</sup> Quintilian, Book XI. iii. 65, pp. 278-79.



modify his delivery to match the character of the case in hand, and also to reflect the language employed in particular circumstances. In other words, the orator should

[...] [invest] his speech with lucidity, brilliance, convincingness and charm not by his language but by changes of voice, by gestures and by glances, which will be most efficacious if they harmonize with the class of speech and conform to its effect and its variety.<sup>126</sup>

During the early years of Christianity, the discipline of classical rhetoric was diffused into the circles of scholars and writers of the Church, who had been instructed in the practice of public speaking by their Roman teachers. In the Middle Ages, rhetoric gradually lost its prominence, since scholars were mostly concerned with the arrangement of letters and official documents, while the ministry adopted and cultivated the rhetorical structure in terms of arranging the homily.<sup>127</sup> Preaching methods during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries testify to the adaptation of the classical *dispositio* for the ordering of the sermon. For instance, the following arrangement by G. Albrecht, a mid-seventeenth-century writer, remains classical in spirit despite the omission of the *peroratio*; the six-part *dispositio* for the preaching consisted of the *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *explicatio*, *confirmatio*, and *confutatio*.<sup>128</sup> Despite the wide acceptance of the rhetorical *dispositio* as the norm for the arrangement of the sermon, the *exordium* soon became a long and autonomous part, not necessarily connected to the rest of the speech, while in the *propositio* the minister would propound the subject of his sermon. The *confirmatio* remained intact and served as the development of the important dogmas inherent in the text, while the preacher would scarcely employ the *confutatio*, since this would have involved presenting arguments that contradicted Christian teachings and challenged the congregation's accepted beliefs.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, vii. 25, pp. 330-31.

<sup>127</sup> Bartel, p. 65.

<sup>128</sup> Gorman, pp. 34-35.

<sup>129</sup> *ibid.*, p. 36.

The art of rhetoric saw a revival during the Renaissance and evolved into a humanist enterprise, an integral part of the *studia humanitatis*, closely connected with the disciplines of poetry, history, and moral philosophy. The study of rhetoric became an indispensable element of the linguistic *trivium*, and formed the central core of the curriculum introduced by Luther's associate Philipp Melanchthon in the parochial *Lateinschulen*. The Lutheran *Lateinschulen* broke fresh ground for the future consolidation of linguistic and musical principles, and from the sixteenth century, music treatises emphasized an approach to musical composition through rhetoric's methodology and terminology.<sup>130</sup>

In the new *musica poetica* tradition, as formulated through the Lutheran curriculum during the sixteenth century, musicians and rhetoricians tended to share the same rhetorical language and structure, notwithstanding the unique type of oratory and the idiosyncrasies of style each discipline was proclaiming.<sup>131</sup> The new liturgical practices, as introduced through new polyphonic choral music and Lutheran chorales, favoured the participation of the congregation and elevated the status of music in both the liturgy and the curriculum of the *Lateinschulen*. At the same time, and with the widespread interest in classical studies during the early Renaissance, musical discipline was equated with linguistic discipline. Furthermore, having adapted the classical disposition and terminology, music became a heightened form of oration, in other words, a musical sermon.<sup>132</sup>

Due to the close analogies between the two arts, music was considered a counterbalance of rhetoric, able to absorb the rhetorical disposition and nomenclature in its own sphere, be it instrumental or vocal. Both disciplines incorporated a rational plan for achieving intensification, which was the employment of well-ordered material consisting of an introduction, logical planning, and a conclusion. On the other hand, effective stylistic features such as pauses, repetitions, exclamations, and contrasts were adopted by both arts with a view to affecting the same target, namely the listener, who would perceive the

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<sup>130</sup> Bartel, p. 65.

<sup>131</sup> Gorman, p. 38.

<sup>132</sup> Bartel, pp. 73-76.



external stimulus (words or notes) through the same sensory organ.<sup>133</sup> Furthermore, concerning grammar and periodic structure, the divisions of a rhetorical discourse were clearly articulated, not only by means of proper punctuation (i.e. periods, commas, colons, semi-colons), but also by an appropriate delivery by the speaker, who would employ pauses and proper tempo in utterance, in order to reflect aurally the text's punctuation.<sup>134</sup> Just as a verbal discourse consisted of paragraphs, sentences, clauses, and phrases separated from each other by punctuation marks, so too in musical rhetoric textural changes denoted smaller unit-divisions set off by means of musical punctuation.<sup>135</sup> This was supported by Johannes Lippius in his *Synopsis musicae novae* (1612):

Just as an oration is punctuated by commas, colons, and periods, so also a harmonic piece, in keeping with the nature of its text, is subdivided by short or long pauses, by cadences that are either native (i.e., primary, secondary or tertiary cadences) or peregrine, either imperfect or perfect.<sup>136</sup>

Much later, Johann Mattheson underscored the close connection between music and rhetoric in terms of smaller units separated by means of punctuation in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739):

Every idea, be it verbal or written, consists then in certain word-phrases, or periods; but every such phrase also consists in smaller caesuras up to the close with a period. A whole structure or paragraph is developed from such phrases, and from various of these paragraphs a main part or a chapter is finally developed.<sup>137</sup>

Consequently, in musical rhetoric, pauses, cadences, and melodic movements (e.g. upward movements for question marks) constituted the musical equivalents of grammatical punctuation, which, according to Lippius, should

<sup>133</sup> Albrecht, pp. 54-55.

<sup>134</sup> Gorman, p. 38.

<sup>135</sup> *ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>136</sup> Johannes Lippius, *Synopsis of New Music*, trans. by Benito Rivera, pp. 49-50.

<sup>137</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §5, p. 381. Mattheson discusses musical punctuation in the ninth chapter of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*; see 'On the Sections and Caesuras of Musical Rhetoric', §§1-76, pp. 380-404. The same chapter has also been translated by Hans Lenneberg; see 'Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', §§1-76, pp. 206-23.

follow the nature of the text.<sup>138</sup> Mattheson also illustrated musical punctuation in close connection to the text of an aria, since “in melody, as in musical speech, [one] usually employ[s] only one paragraph at a time, a whole structure and section, which commonly forms the bounds of an aria [...].”<sup>139</sup> In most of these cases, Mattheson maintained that the significance of musical punctuation should be underscored by melodic nuances.<sup>140</sup> In the case of the semicolon, for instance, the melody should express the differentiation and separate or distinguish the two opposing parts, as implied occasionally in the text, “[...] with sounds which are somewhat distant from one another”,<sup>141</sup> or even “[...] through contrary movements in the intervals and sounds, which gives [*sic*] the hearing an idea of them.”<sup>142</sup>

On the other hand, in instrumental music, pauses and variety of cadences constituted the only articulation marks that delineated the large-scale structure and reinforced the divisions of a musical composition. Cadential patterns received the attention of seventeenth-century writers who elaborated on cadences on the tonic, dominant, or on other scale degrees in connection with specific melodic formulae prescribed to each voice of the cadence. In a perfect cadence, for instance, the progression in the soprano, with or without a suspension, was considered adequate to set off and punctuate ‘paragraphs’ of the musical oration.<sup>143</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther (1684-1748) underscored the close analogy between grammatical punctuation and cadential patterns. In his *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition*,<sup>144</sup> Walther distinguished between different types of cadence according to the degree on which they occurred. The most essential cadences (*clausulae finalis essentialis*) were those on the notes of the tonic triad;

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<sup>138</sup> Gorman, pp. 38-39.

<sup>139</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §6, p. 381.

<sup>140</sup> Gorman, p. 39.

<sup>141</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §41, p. 390.

<sup>142</sup> *ibid.*, §44, p. 391. Other means of grammatical punctuation that Mattheson illustrated musically included commas, colons, question marks, exclamation marks, parentheses, and periods.

<sup>143</sup> Gorman, pp. 39-40.

<sup>144</sup> Johann Gottfried Walther, *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* (Weimar, 1708; repr. ed. by P. Benary: Jenaer Beiträge zur Musikforschung, vol. 2; Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1955).



*primaria* when the cadence was on the tonic, *tertiaria* when on the mediant, and *secundaria* when on the dominant. These *clausulae essentialis* were assigned the function of grammatical punctuation. According to Crüger,<sup>145</sup> the *primaria* cadence stood for a period, the *tertiaria* for a comma, and the *secundaria* for a colon.<sup>146</sup> Walther also stressed that the strength of a cadence was intensified by the movement of the bass line; the *clausula perfectissima* involved the leap of an ascending fourth or descending fifth in the bass (namely V-I, dominant-tonic), while the *clausula perfecta* or *dissecta* the movement of an ascending fifth or descending fourth (IV-I, subdominant-tonic).<sup>147</sup>

The first reference to rhetorically ordered music is encountered in the middle of the seventeenth century, when Athanasius Kircher, in his *Musurgia universalis* (1650) introduced rhetoric's structuring principles *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* to musical compositional theory. In the section entitled *De partibus rhetoricae musurgica*, Kircher linked the rhetorical procedure to the expression of the text; the *inventio* referred to the musical transformation of the rhetorical content, the *dispositio* involved the proper musical illustration of the words, while the *elocutio* concerned itself with the embellishment of the composition through the use of tropes and figures.<sup>148</sup> Christoph Bernhard, in his *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (c. 1657), considered that musical composition comprised three indispensable stages: "[...] Inventio, (Die Erfindung) Elaboratio, (Die Ausarbeitung) Executio, (die Ausführung oder Aufführung) [...]",<sup>149</sup> "[...] which display a rather close relationship with oratory or rhetoric."<sup>150</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Johannes Crüger, *Synopsis musica, continens rationem constituendi et componendi melos harmonicum, conscripta variisque exemplis illustrata* (Berlin, 1630; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1654).

<sup>146</sup> Cadences on other scale degrees included *clausulae affinalis* on degrees IV and VI, and *clausulae peregrinae* on II and VII. Walther suggested that *clausulae primariae* appeared as final cadences, while *secundariae*, *tertiariae*, and *peregrinae* should be used in the middle sections of compositions. See Gorman, pp. 43-44.

<sup>147</sup> For more details regarding the cadences as described by Walther with illustrated examples, see Gorman, pp. 42-46.

<sup>148</sup> Bartel, p. 76.

<sup>149</sup> The passage by Bernhard appears in Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Part II, Chapter 1, §3, p. 104; cited also in Wulf Arlt, 'Zur Handhabung der "inventio" in der deutschen Musiklehre des frühen achtzehnten Jahrhunderts', in *New Mattheson Studies*, ed. by G. J. Buelow and H. J. Marx (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 371-91 (p. 374).

<sup>150</sup> "[...] welches eine ziemliche nahe Verwandschaft mit der Oratorie oder Rhetorique (Rede-Kunst) an den Tag leget" (Bernhard, cited in Mattheson's *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre*, Part II,

Based on Bernhard’s structure, Johann Mattheson,<sup>151</sup> in the fourth chapter of his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), modelled a rational plan of musical composition upon the rhetorical principles by conflating the old Ciceronian model with Christoph Bernhard’s tripartite arrangement.<sup>152</sup> The following table illustrates this point:

Cicero	Bernhard	Mattheson
<i>Inventio</i>	<i>Inventio</i>	<i>Inventio</i>
<i>Dispositio</i>		<i>Dispositio</i>
<i>Elocutio</i>	<i>Elaboratio</i>	<i>Elaboratio</i>
<i>Memoratio</i>		<i>Decoratio</i>
<i>Pronuntiatio</i>	<i>Executio</i>	<i>Executio</i>

Table 2. Rhetorical structure according to Cicero, Bernhard, and Mattheson<sup>153</sup>

In his arrangement, Mattheson adopted the two first stages *inventio* and *dispositio*, following, therefore, Cicero’s nomenclature, while his *elaboratio* originated in Bernhard’s system with its function being already implied in Cicero’s *dispositio*. Mattheson, apparently, distinguished between two different stages of disposition. The first stage (*dispositio*) involved

[...] a neat ordering of all the parts and details in the melody, or in an entire melodic composition, about in [*sic*] the manner in which one contrives or delineates a building and makes a plan or design in order to show where a room, a parlor, a chamber, etc., should be placed.<sup>154</sup>

The *elaboratio*, on the other hand, was the second half of the procedure of the *dispositio*, since “[...] whoever disposes well is half done with elaboration; it takes him only a little time and attention [...]”.<sup>155</sup> It involved the methods of

Chapter 1, §3, p. 104); cited in Arlt, p. 374, translated by Lawrence Dreyfus, *Bach and the Patterns of Invention* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 3.

<sup>151</sup> According to Arlt, Mattheson, in his *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713), adopted Bernhard’s structure, while in his *Das forschende Orchestre* (Hamburg, 1721) he mentioned that he owned a copy of Bernhard’s *Tractatus*. See Arlt, pp. 374-75; also Dreyfus, p. 248.

<sup>152</sup> Dreyfus, p. 5.

<sup>153</sup> Adapted from Dreyfus, p. 5.

<sup>154</sup> *Johann Mattheson’s Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §4, pp. 469-70.

<sup>155</sup> *ibid.*, §39, p. 480.



amplifying the basic ideas,<sup>156</sup> and required “[...] little instruction [, for] one encounters a path which has already been prepared, and already knows for certain where one wants to go.”<sup>157</sup> Finally, the *elocutio*, which according to Cicero encompassed the embellishments of style, was redefined by Mattheson as *decoratio*, the adornment of a composition through musical *ornamenti*; moreover, Mattheson noted that the *decoratio* depended “[...] more on the skillfulness and sound judgment of a singer or player than on the actual prescription of the composer of melody.”<sup>158</sup> It was during the *executio*, therefore, that the performer could add his own ornaments (*figurae cantionis* or *Manieren*), according to his dexterity and taste. In conclusion, *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elaboratio* were three stages indispensable to the musical orator, and each of them was assigned a different function and meaning. According to Mattheson, “invention requires fire and spirit; disposition, order and measure; elaboration, cold blood and circumspection.”<sup>159</sup> And he concluded:

It is said: a good thing requires time. I mean that more for disposition than elaboration: for where the latter happens languidly, indolently and constrainedly, it has the very same impact on the feelings of the listeners, namely languidness, indolence and constraint. One should consider that as the absolute truth.<sup>160</sup>

The invention of musical ideas, on the one hand, and the arrangement and elaboration of the material, on the other, was soon adopted by musicians, who incorporated rhetorical principles in music and conceived the idea of composing as an *ars inveniendi*. As Johann David Heinichen wrote,

it is not ever enough that a composer writes down a naturally occurring, good invention expressing the words and pleasing the good taste of intelligent listeners. It also requires an artist to work out [these

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<sup>156</sup> Dreyfus, p. 6.

<sup>157</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §32, p. 478.

<sup>158</sup> *ibid.*, §40, p. 480. For a more thorough discussion regarding those figures employed by the performer and those by the composer according to Mattheson, see Chapter 1 of the present work, pp. 69-71.

<sup>159</sup> *ibid.*, §37, p. 480.

<sup>160</sup> *ibid.*, §37, p. 480.

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inventions] at the right occasion according to the rules and to prove that he possesses knowledge and good taste.<sup>161</sup>

Regarding the first step, namely the *inventio*, just as the orator had to invent an idea on which he was to develop his speech, so too the composer had to create a musical idea, which would form the basis for his composition. At the same time, the topics of invention that would assist the orator to invent a subject for his discourse were also available to the composer. When applying the rhetorical *loci topici* to musical composition, and particularly when a text had to be illustrated with music, Johann David Heinichen suggested that the composer derive his ideas from the given text. In other words, he should focus on the *locus circumstantiarum*, which involved the careful study of the preceding text (*antecedentia*), the parallel text (*concomitantia*), or the subsequent text (*consequentia*) to the one that was to be set to music, in order to establish the desired affection.<sup>162</sup> Therefore, the text that surrounded the one that was to be illustrated with music governed the appropriate musical expression of the intended affection. Furthermore, on setting text to music, Kircher stressed that in the musical *inventio* the composer should first choose his theme or subject, then the key, and finally the metre and the rhythm for the composition, with a view to evoking the affects.<sup>163</sup>

In instrumental music, the rhetorical *inventio* was related to the *fantasia* technique, and early musical treatises from the sixteenth century testified to the correlation of improvised contrapuntal patterns with something that was considered incomprehensible and intangible. Zarlino, in his *Le institutioni*

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<sup>161</sup> Translated by George J. Buelow, *Thorough-Bass Accompaniment According to Johann David Heinichen* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966; rev. edn, Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1986), p. 329, cited in Dreyfus, pp. 3-4.

<sup>162</sup> "Even with the most uninspired text one can take just the three principal sources, namely, *antecedentia*, *concomitantia*, and *consequentia textus*, and examine them according to the *locus topicus* by weighing carefully the purpose of the words, including the related circumstances of person, time, place, etc", in Johann David Heinichen, *Der General-Bass in der Composition, oder neue und gründliche Anweisung* (Dresden: the author, 1728), p. 30, translated by Buelow in 'The *Loci Topici* and Affect', pp. 162-63. For the musical illustration of the text regarding the *loci topici*, see Isolde Ahlgrimm, 'Die Rhetorik in der Barockmusik', *Musica*, 22.6 (1968), 493-97: "[...] Sie [*loci topici*] sind eine systematische Darstellung aller Standpunkte von denen aus man eine Sache betrachten kann" (Ahlgrimm, p. 494). In other words, they [*loci topici*] are a systematic representation of all the points of view from which one may consider a subject.

<sup>163</sup> Bartel, p. 77.



*harmoniche* (1558), alluded to sections which he described as *stravagante* (fantastic), and referred to imitative passages in improvised vocal counterpoint (*conseguenze a mente senza soggetto*) that were a product of the musician's imagination (*contrapunto a mente*).<sup>164</sup> Therefore, the term *fantasia* reflected an image - *locus* - implanted in the memory, and since, as already mentioned, *inventio* was connected with *memoratio*, the *fantasia* was considered a reflection of an 'automatic' mechanism "[...] with concealed motive power endued with spontaneous motion, the result of an unthinking routine or action performed unconsciously or subconsciously."<sup>165</sup> During the seventeenth century, this aspect of contrapuntal improvisation shifted from vocal to instrumental music and was related to passages that the musician could perform without thinking. Finally, Mauritius Vogt, in the sixth chapter of his *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (1719) entitled *De phantasia et inventionibus*, correlated *inventio* with *fantasia*, and spoke about fugues that were born of a *fantasia*, supporting therefore, unequivocally, the idea that *fantasia* was in fact an improvised form of contrapuntal imitation.<sup>166</sup>

<sup>164</sup> Butler, 'The Fantasia as a Musical Image', pp. 602-07.

<sup>165</sup> H. Colin Slim, 'The Keyboard Ricercar and Fantasia in Italy, c. 1500-1550, with Reference to Parallel Forms in European Lute Music of the Same Period' (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1960), p. 411, cited in Butler, p. 610. This description was employed to define the Greek term *automaton*, in other words an unconscious procedure emerging from the memory, to which sixteenth-century sources referred as a synonym for the *fantasia* (see Butler, pp. 610-11).

<sup>166</sup> Bartel, p. 78; also Butler, 'The Fantasia as a Musical Image', pp. 612-13. The correlation of the *fantasia* technique with something that was imaginary and incomprehensible gave rise to what was named in north German musical tradition *stylus phantasticus*. According to Mattheson, *stylus phantasticus* belonged to the theatrical style and was employed by instrumentalists and even by singers, who would demonstrate their improvisatory skills. The term referred to an effective musical genre with all different sorts of freedom including rhythm, melody, theme, and harmony, which aimed at dramatic contrasts and affective variety, but mostly at the arousal of the listener (Hosler, *Changing Aesthetic Views of Instrumental Music*, p. 27). Before Mattheson, Athanasius Kircher, in his *Musurgia universalis* (1650), discussed *stylus phantasticus* and related it to strict contrapuntal techniques together with occasional alternations of rhythmical patterns, citing works by Froberger as musical examples. Although Mattheson drew on Kircher's discussion of the fantastic style, he diverged explicitly from his concept, since he (Mattheson) related *stylus phantasticus* with improvisatory (*a mente non a penna*) skill and virtuosic dexterity employed by the performer himself, who "[...] could exercise a metrically free, rhetorical style of delivery [...]" (Hosler, p. 27). This, according to Mattheson, was followed usually by all sorts of freedom in tempo and form, yet shifting to different moods, i.e. "[...] now swift, now hesitating, now in one voice, now in many voices, now for a while behind the beat, without measure of sound, but not without the intent to please, to overtake and to astonish", in Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 88, as translated by Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (New York: Schirmer; London: Collier- Macmillan, 1987), p. 250.



Regarding other aspects of musical composition, Mattheson, following Kircher's paradigm, stated that the composer should first of all choose and write down the fundamental features of his composition, namely the theme, key, and metre (*thema, modus, tactus*).<sup>167</sup> This stage involved the application of contrapuntal techniques that could be elaborated on the basic idea: inverted counterpoint, augmentation, and diminution. Mattheson also stressed the importance of the *loci topici* in the musical *inventio*, and apart from the *locus circumstantiarum*, already discussed by Heinichen, he specified fourteen more means for invention, which "[...] can provide quite pleasing expedients for invention in the art of composing melody as well as in poetry and oration."<sup>168</sup> These included the *locus notationis, descriptionis, generis & speciei, totius & partium, causae efficientis, materialis, formalis, finalis, effectorum, adjunctorum, comparatorum, oppositorum, exemplorum*, and *testimoniorum*.<sup>169</sup>

Translating the rhetorical language into the musical equivalent, Mattheson, with regard to the *locus notationis*, paralleled the notes in music with the letters of names in speech, since, "[...] as in oratory the letters of a name or thing are understood as that which can give cause to many ideas."<sup>170</sup> Accordingly, in music the *locus notationis* referred to the disposition of the notes, suggesting four ways of variation: "1) through the value of the notes; 2) through inversion or permutation; 3) through repetition or reiteration; and 4) through canonic passages."<sup>171</sup> The composer, according to Mattheson, could also profit from the *locus oppositorum*, which "[...] [provided] many expedients for producing good inventions: [...] the different meters, the counter-movements, the high and the

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See also Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §§88-98, pp. 216-19. For more references on *fantasia* and chorale *fantasia*, see Arnfried Edler, 'Fantasie and Choralfantasie: On the Problematic Nature of a Genre of Seventeenth-Century Organ Music', *The Organ Yearbook*, 19 (1988), 53-66. For a complete discussion of the *stylus phantasticus*, see Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Stylus phantasticus und phantastische Musik: Kompositorische Verfahren in Toccaten von Frescobaldi und Buxtehude', *Schütz-Jahrbuch*, 2 (1980), 7-77.

<sup>167</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §14, p. 283: "The first, insofar as musical invention is concerned, consists of these three things: *Thema, Modus, Tactus*; i.e., theme, key, meter [...]."

<sup>168</sup> *ibid.*, §20, p. 285.

<sup>169</sup> *ibid.*, §§23-85, pp. 285-99.

<sup>170</sup> *ibid.*, §25, p. 286.

<sup>171</sup> *ibid.*, §25, p. 286.



low, the slow and the fast, the calm and the violent, together with many other opposites [...].”<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, of equal importance to the invention of the composer was the *locus exemplorum*, which the musical orator should treat with the greatest respect so that he would not simply imitate the works of his predecessors, but “[...] return the thing borrowed with interest [...].”<sup>173</sup>

Johann Adolph Scheibe defined invention as a musical (rather than rhetorical) category that depended on the inborn talent of the composer in contrast to the teachable techniques that Baroque *musica poetica* propagated.<sup>174</sup> Scheibe conceived of the *inventio* as “[...] a capacity [*Eigenschaft*] of the composer [...] to think musically”<sup>175</sup> and related it to the main subject (*Hauptsatz*) of a musical piece. He furthermore expanded on the distinction between the inventive part (thematic idea) of a composition, and the rest of the work, which was the elaboration of the musical style. Johann Sebastian Bach, in the preface to his *Inventions* and *Sinfonias* (BWV 772-801), alluded to the clear-cut differentiation between the invention and the elaboration of good ideas.<sup>176</sup> The purpose of those two-part and three-part works, as mentioned in the preface, was to give instruction to the keyboard amateur on how to achieve good inventions [*inventiones*], and also how to elaborate on them [*auch selbige wohl durchzuführen*],<sup>177</sup> so that one acquired “[...] a strong foretaste of composition.”<sup>178</sup>

<sup>172</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §80, p. 298.

<sup>173</sup> *ibid.*, §81, p. 298.

<sup>174</sup> Bartel, p. 155.

<sup>175</sup> Johann Adolph Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus* (Hamburg, 1738; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 1740; Leipzig, 1745; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), p. 81, translated by Dreyfus, p. 4.

<sup>176</sup> These works date from Bach's years in Cöthen, when, expressing his pedagogical intentions, Bach composed for the instruction of his son Wilhelm Friedemann the *Clavierbüchlein*, which included fifteen two-part preludes and fifteen three-part fantasies. Bach later collected these pieces in a separate work, in which the two-part preludes were entitled *inventions*, while the three-part works appeared as *sinfonias*. See *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, p. 22.

<sup>177</sup> Dreyfus, p. 2.

<sup>178</sup> *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 97-98: “Upright Instruction wherein the lovers of the clavier, and especially those desirous of learning, are shown a clear way not alone (1) to learn to play clearly in two voices but also, after further progress, (2) to deal correctly and well with three *obbligato* parts; furthermore, at the same time not alone to have good *inventions* [ideas] but to develop the same well and, above all, to arrive at a singing style in playing and at the same time to acquire a strong foretaste of composition.” The sense of ‘developing’ or ‘elaborating’ on a given musical idea is also encountered in the preface to Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*: “Little Organ Book (with 48

The *Inventions* and *Sinfonias* (BWV 772-801) are short pieces based on a thematic idea (*inventio*) that encompasses contrapuntal formulas (e.g. inverted counterpoint), which then paves the way for the arrangement (*dispositio*), development (*elaboratio*), and ornamentation (*decoratio*) of the material within a tonic framework, clearly articulated with specific cadences. Through their performance (*executio*), the musician/ student would arrive “[...] at a *cantabile* manner in playing [...]”<sup>179</sup> that would enable him to achieve the desired aesthetic result and encourage his facility on the keyboard. Johann Sebastian Bach, as a great teacher of music, stressed the importance of ‘invention’ for the activity of a composer and encouraged the inborn talent (ability) of his pupils in discovering new ideas even at the early stages of their musical training.<sup>180</sup> Moreover,

“[...] He took it for granted that all his pupils in composition had the ability to think musically. Whoever had not this, received from him the sincere advice not to apply himself to composition. He, therefore, refrained from beginning, as well with his sons as his other pupils, the study of composition till he had seen attempts of theirs in which he thought he could discern this ability, or what is called musical genius.”<sup>181</sup>

On the other hand, in an era that emphasized teachable and learnable techniques of composition, the talent in inventing new ideas was not sufficient. The craft of discovering new ‘inventions’ demanded arduous study, and even J. S. Bach, when asked to comment on his musical achievements, in all modesty stated: “I was

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realized chorales), in which a beginner at the organ is given instruction in developing a chorale in many divers ways, and at the same time in acquiring facility in the study of the pedal since in the chorales contained therein the pedal is treated as wholly obbligato” (*The New Bach Reader*, p. 80).

<sup>179</sup> Cited in Dreyfus, p. 1, who quotes the translation of the 1966 edition of *The Bach Reader* (p. 86).

<sup>180</sup> “He also made his pupils aim at such excellencies in their exercises; and, till they had attained a high degree of perfection in them, he did not think it advisable to let them attempt inventions of their own. Their sense of purity, order, and connection in the parts must first have been sharpened on the inventions of others, and have become in a manner habitual to them, before he thought them capable of giving these qualities to their own inventions”, in Forkel’s biography of Bach (1802), as it appears in *The New Bach Reader*, p. 454; originally published as Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Über Johann Sebastian Bachs Leben, Kunst, und Kunstwerke* (Leipzig, 1802); English translation enlarged as *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Life, Art, and Work*, trans. with notes and appendices by Charles Sanford Terry (London: Constable, 1920), p. 96.

<sup>181</sup> *The New Bach Reader*, pp. 454-55.



obliged to be industrious; whoever is equally industrious will succeed equally well.”<sup>182</sup>

The second branch of the rhetorical structure was the *dispositio*, the arrangement of the material; Gallus Dressler, as already mentioned, first in his *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (1563) referred to the application of three basic stages, namely *exordium* (beginning), *medium* (middle), and *finis* (end) to a vocal composition (motet), according to the rules of rhetoric. The same tripartite division, inherent in the Aristotelian notion of structuring an epic poem into *arche* (beginning), *meson* (middle), and *teleute* (end), was adopted by Joachim Burmeister, who, in his *Musica poetica* (1606) divided Lassus's motet *In me transierunt* into an *exordium* (introduction), *ipsum corpus carminis* (the body of the work itself), and *finis* (end).<sup>183</sup>

During the seventeenth and up to the end of the eighteenth century, references in theoretical sources described fugue as an oration in itself, usually associated with elaborate discourse, debate, and proof.<sup>184</sup> Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) first compared fugue with rhetorical structure, which he related to a series of points of imitation that welded together particular elements in order to form a complete oration.<sup>185</sup> Following the three-part rhetorical arrangement mentioned above, Angelo Berardi (1690) associated fugal imitation with logical syllogism; he referred explicitly to the *thema* (subject) of the fugue as “la proposizione della fuge”<sup>186</sup> (*propositio*), the intermediate section as “qualche bel passaggio”<sup>187</sup> (a quite attractive passage of the work), and the final section as “il concludere”<sup>188</sup> (*peroratio*). Joachim Burmeister (c. 1566-1629) linked fugue with

<sup>182</sup> *The New Bach Reader*, p. 459.

<sup>183</sup> See also Chapter 1 of the present work, pages 5 and 17-18.

<sup>184</sup> David A. Sheldon, ‘The Stretto Principle: Some Thoughts on Fugue as Form’, *The Journal of Musicology*, 8.4 (Autumn 1990), 553-568 (p. 554).

<sup>185</sup> Gregory G. Butler, ‘Fugue and Rhetoric’, *Journal of Music Theory*, 21.1 (1977), 49-109 (p. 63).

<sup>186</sup> Angelo Berardi, *Arcani musicali svelati dalla vera amicitia* (Bologna, 1690), p. 22, cited in Butler, p. 67.

<sup>187</sup> *Idem*, *Miscellanea musicale* (Bologna, 1689), p. 204, cited in Butler, p. 67.

<sup>188</sup> *ibid.*, p. 179, cited in Butler, p. 67. Before Angelo Berardi, Mignot de la Voyer in his *Traité de musique* (Paris, 1656) identified fugue with the process of reasoning by logical arrangement, and outlined three basic subsections of the rhetorical *dispositio*, namely *propositio*, *confirmatio*, and *conclusio* that he applied to fugal structure (Butler, pp. 66-67). Johann Christoph Schmidt (1664-



the confirmation (*confirmatio*) of the initial subject in the musical oration,<sup>189</sup> and also saw fugue as a means of amplification (*amplificatio*) of the repeated points that comprised the *confirmatio*.<sup>190</sup> Consequently, in Baroque practice, imitative counterpoint and fugal texture were correlated with the objective parts of the oration (*narratio* and *confirmatio*) that presented facts (argumentation) as an indispensable part of proving a case.<sup>191</sup> At the same time, Thomas Mace (c. 1613-1709) viewed fugue as “an Extension”, a rhetorical structure that elaborated on the proposition and amplification of a subject, namely “as a Theam, or as a subject matter in Oratory, on which the Orator intends to discourse.”<sup>192</sup> Fugue for Johann Mattheson was a free oration, a pleasant dispute,<sup>193</sup> in which he viewed the contrapuntal voices as adversaries in a combative atmosphere, acting under

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1728) and Christoph Weissenborn in his *Gründliche Einleitung zur teutschen und lateinischen Oratorie und Poesie* (Dresden und Leipzig: Hübner, 1731), introduced a variation of the rhetorical *dispositio* called *chria*, which comprised four distinct sections, some of which resembled the classical *dispositio*. The *chria* lacked the two initial sections *exordium* and *narratio*, commencing with a *protasis* (classical *propositio*), in other words the subject of the fugue (*dux*), followed by a section called *aetiologia* (*probatio*), which further clarified and elaborated the *protasis* in a causal relationship (*comes*). The *confirmatio* and the *confutatio* of the rhetorical *dispositio* were replaced in the *chria* with the *amplificatio* section, which comprised four methods: *a contrario* (inversion of the fugal subject), *a comparato* (alteration of the duration of the subject notes), *ab exemplo* (transposition of the fugal subject, augmentation, and diminution), and *a testimonio* (this method found no musical equivalent, and was therefore not described by Weissenborn, while it was dispensed with in Schmidt's *chria*). The final section of the *chria* was, as in the classical *dispositio*, the *conclusio*, which Weissenborn described as a repetition of the *protasis*. Schmidt also concluded his fugal-rhetorical *chria* with the *conclusio* section, while in his scheme, the *conclusio* was preceded by the *confirmatio* (*stretto*), following, therefore, more closely the *dispositio* scheme of rhetoric. In both Schmidt's and Weissenborn's schemes, the *amplificatio* was probably equated with the *confutatio* in accordance with Mattheson's *dispositio*, in which the *confutatio* usually preceded the *confirmatio*. For the rhetorical *chria*, as discussed by Weissenborn and Schmidt, see Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', pp. 69-71.

<sup>189</sup> Gorman, p. 37.

<sup>190</sup> Butler, pp. 54-56. Burmeister obviously related the *amplificatio* with the *confirmatio*, while, as already stated, in classical rhetoric the *amplificatio* was a technique strongly associated with the principles of the *peroratio* (see pp. 97-98 of this chapter).

<sup>191</sup> Gorman, pp. 56-57. Johann Christoph Schmidt, in discussing the rhetorical *chria*, also related the *confirmatio* with canonic imitation, since, as he stated in his letter to Mattheson in 1718, “*Confirmatio* would be when I treat the subject in canon [...]”, published in Mattheson's *Critica musica*, 2 vols (Hamburg, 1722-25; repr. Amsterdam: F. Knuf, 1964), ii, pp. 267-68, cited and translated by Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', p. 69.

<sup>192</sup> Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676; repr. New York, 1966), p. 116, cited by Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', p. 63.

<sup>193</sup> Butler, pp. 64-65.



the element of opposition. Finally, J. S. Bach conceived of fugue as an extended debate among several individuals,<sup>194</sup> since, according to Forkel

He considered his parts as if they were persons who conversed together like a select company. If there were three, each could sometimes be silent and listen to the others till it again had something to the purpose to say.<sup>195</sup>

Following the transference of the rhetorical structure into fugal disposition, Johann Mattheson, in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, transferred all six subdivisions of the rhetorical *dispositio* (*exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*) to musical composition, and particularly to an aria by Benedetto Marcello.<sup>196</sup> To begin, the *exordium* in music was considered an introduction to the composition preparing the listener for the nature and purpose of the piece to follow. Mattheson described it as “[...] the introduction and beginning of a melody, wherein the goal and the entire purpose must be revealed, so that the listeners are prepared, and are stimulated to attentiveness.”<sup>197</sup> In vocal music, the *exordium* was interpreted as an opening ritornello to an aria, while in instrumental music it was assigned the introductory and preparatory function of the preludial composition, usually preceding a fugue.<sup>198</sup>

Based on the Ciceronian twofold division of the *exordium* into *principium* and *insinuatio*, Gallus Dressler (*Praecepta musicae poeticae*, 1563) defined two types of musical *exordium*: the full (*plenum* or *principium*), when all voices began simultaneously, and the bare (*nudum* or *insinuatio*), in which voices entered one by one.<sup>199</sup> Joachim Burmeister obviously alluded to the same distinction between

<sup>194</sup> Butler, ‘Fugue and Rhetoric’, p. 63.

<sup>195</sup> *The New Bach Reader*, p. 455.

<sup>196</sup> *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §§1-23, pp. 469-76.

<sup>197</sup> *ibid.*, §7, p. 470.

<sup>198</sup> Bartel, p. 81.

<sup>199</sup> “But the exordium of musical compositions is twofold, viz. full and bare [i.e. *principium* and *insinuatio*]. “Full” [*plenum*] is when all voices begin at the same time [...]. In such exordia certain voices sometimes consist of imperfect consonances. We call an exordium “bare” [*nudum*] when all voices don’t break out at the same time, but procede one after the other in series. Such exordia are generally formed from imitations [*fugis*] [...]”, in Chapter 12, ‘De fingendiis exordiis’; see Gallus



the two types of the *exordium*, when he mentioned in his *Musica poetica* (1606) that an *exordium* could be either homophonic (*plenum*, consisting of a chordal passage, in other words, a *noema*), or imitative (*nudum*, incorporating a contrapuntal texture, that was a *fuga*).<sup>200</sup> In instrumental music, modern scholars have argued over the strict contrapuntal character of preludial compositions (following Cicero's division of the *exordium* into *principium* - homophonic and *insinuatio* - imitative), and the improvisatory nature of compositions named *praeambula*, *fantasias*, *toccatas*, or *ricercars* (a function echoing Aristotle's comparison of the rhetorical *proemium* to the free improvisatory prelude in flute playing). It is the objective of the present writer to treat the prelude as an *exordium* (*proemium*), a section that, notwithstanding its double nature, served as the preface to rhetorical discourse, a foretaste to musical oration (*Klangrede*), exciting the emotions of the listeners for what was to follow.<sup>201</sup>

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Dressler, *Praecepta musicae poeticae* (MS treatise, Magdeburg, 1563); published by B. Engelke as *Geschichtsblätter für Stadt und Land Magdeburg*, 49 (1914), pp. 213-50, cited and translated by Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians', p. 28.

<sup>200</sup> "The *exordium* is the first period or affection of the piece. It is often adorned by fugue, so that the ears and mind of the listener are rendered attentive to the song, and his good will is won over. The *exordium* extends up to the point where the fugal subject ends with the introduction of a true cadence [*clausula vera*] or of a harmonic passage having the marks of a cadence. This is seen to happen where a new subject definitely different from the fugal subject is introduced. However, examples do not confirm that all musical pieces should always begin with the ornament of fugue. [...] Sometimes *noëma* takes place in the *exordium*. When this happens, it should be for the sake of an aphoristic text [*textus sententiosus*] or for other purposes which common practice will show" (see *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, p. 203). In instrumental music, while a homophonic texture (*noema*) was often encountered in the *exordium* (Buxtehude's Prelude in F# minor - BuxWV 146), the application of fugal contrapuntal techniques was rather unusual, since they were related to points of proof and confirmation. Warren Kirkendale, who cites the same passage by Burmeister ('Ciceronians versus Aristotelians', p. 29) obviously adopts Burmeister's argument with a view to transferring the rhetorical analogy between the *exordium* and the *insinuatio* (fugal texture) into instrumental music (i.e. the *ricercar* - see the following footnote no. 201), without taking into account the fact that Burmeister alluded to vocal motet repertory, illustrated in most cases in vocal works of Clemens non Papa. One should also consider that both Dressler and Burmeister referred to a rhetorical plan applied to vocal motets, in which the musical term fugue described a compositional technique that included points of imitation, rather than to a piece of instrumental music.

<sup>201</sup> The dispute began in 1980, when Ursula Kirkendale presented her wild theory in which she maintained that Bach composed his Musical Offering based on Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*; see Ursula Kirkendale, 'The Source for Bach's *Musical Offering*: The *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33 (1980), 88-141. The whole discussion had started in 1979, when Warren Kirkendale had dealt extensively with the double nature of the musical term *ricercar* in his article 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32.1 (1979), 1-44. Ursula, and particularly Warren Kirkendale, devoted much of their discussions to the nature



Following the *exordium*, the second stage was the *narratio*, which, when applied to the composition of the melody, Mattheson described as “[...] a report, a narration, through which the meaning and character of the herein-contained discourse is pointed out.”<sup>202</sup> Accordingly, the *narratio* intensified the character of the composition that had already been introduced in the *exordium*, and established the composition’s subject matter;<sup>203</sup> this was accomplished (in

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of the two *ricercars* that appear in Bach’s Musical Offering (*ricercar à 3*, and *ricercar à 6*), which they identified with the twofold division of the *exordium* into *principium* and *insinuatio*, interpreting, therefore, the two *ricercars* as a double *exordium* to the collection; see also Warren Kirkendale, ‘On the Rhetorical Interpretation of the Ricercar and J. S. Bach’s *Musical Offering*’, *Studi musicali*, 26 (1997), 331-76. Their arguments were strongly refuted by Paul Walker, who maintained that the preludial function of the *ricercar* was related to its initial improvisatory nature (described by Aristotle), rather than to its later strictly imitative fugal character, as it appeared in musical treatises of the sixteenth century; see Paul Walker, ‘Rhetoric, the Ricercar, and J. S. Bach’s Musical Offering’, in *Bach Studies*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), ii (1995), ed. by D. R. Melamed, pp. 175-91.

The reasons why Bach chose to designate these two contrapuntal compositions as *ricercars* instead of fugues remain unknown, since it was the first and only case in which he applied this term to his compositions. The most logical explanation was supplied by Christoph Wolff, who justified Bach’s choice of the word *ricercar* as a direct influence of J. G. Walther’s *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732); see Christoph Wolff, ‘Apropos the Musical Offering: The Thema Regium and the Term Ricercar’, in his *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 324-31; originally published as ‘Der Terminus “Ricercar” in Bachs Musikalischem Opfer’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 53 (1967), 70-81. According to Wolff, Walther had distinguished between the fantasy-like *ricercar* (called *ricercare*), on the one hand, and the strict elaborate fugal one (called *ricercata*), on the other. It would seem appropriate to consider the first fantasy-like *ricercar à 3* an *exordium* to the Musical Offering; however, problems arise with the application of the term *exordium* to the second strict imitative *ricercar à 6*, since, according to Walker (‘Rhetoric, the Ricercar, and J. S. Bach’s Musical Offering’, pp. 181-85), musical evidence from the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century treatises does not support the rhetorical analogy between the *exordium* and the imitative *ricercar*.

Christoph Wolff also successfully rejected Kirkendale’s arguments regarding Bach’s Musical Offering being composed on the basis of Quintilian’s rhetorical treatise. Kirkendale, apart from neglecting Wolff’s novel findings concerning the paginations and formats of the 1747 print, as well as the grouping of the work into three fascicles, presented a musical-rhetorical structure that actually distorted the analogies of the rhetorical *dispositio*. Sections such as those consisting of a first *peroratio* followed by a second would sound odd and incongruous to classical rhetoric, while the designation of the long contrapuntal *ricercar à 6* as a second *exordium* is inappropriate, and by no means follows the nature and function of the rhetorical *exordium*. See Christoph Wolff, ‘New Research on the Musical Offering’, in his *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 239-58; see also the postscript to the same article/ essay on pages 421-23.

<sup>202</sup> Johann Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §8, p. 471.

<sup>203</sup> *ibid.*, §8, p. 471. Also Bartel, p. 81. Bartel, influenced by the rhetorical *chria* (a modified form of the fugal *dispositio*), which omitted the introductory *exordium* and the *narratio*, considers, falsely, the *narratio* optional in rhetoric, suggesting that in musical composition it could be incorporated into the *propositio*. The rhetorical *dispositio*, however, as formulated by Quintilian, considered the *narratio* and the *confirmatio* the two indispensable stages of the discourse, with the *propositio* being an optional stage usually incorporated into the *confirmatio*.



vocal music) through the entrance of the vocal part in an aria, or the introduction of the solo instrument in a concerto.

In music, Mattheson suggested that the *narratio* be followed by the *propositio*, which, although optional in rhetoric, was assigned the function of establishing the actual subject or purpose of the musical composition. As he stated in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*,

the *Propositio* or the actual discourse contains briefly the content or goal of the musical oration, and is of two sorts: simple or compound, wherein also belongs the varied or embellished *Propositio* in music, of which nothing is mentioned in rhetoric.<sup>204</sup>

Mattheson also described the *propositio* in terms of fugal arrangement, and likened it to the initial statement of the subject of the fugue (*dux*) that was comprised of a number of particulars (formulae), which the composer had to choose and apply to his fugal subject through good experience and suitable combination.<sup>205</sup> In other words, Mattheson referred to the facet of thematic construction, and viewed the subject of the fugue as a general thesis (*genus*) composed of a number of specific formulae (*species*).<sup>206</sup> Consequently, he alluded to commonplaces (*loci communes*) inherent in the memory of the composer that were to assist him in order to formulate an ordered stock of inventions suitable for the composition of his subject matter. In the case of the fugue, the establishment of the subject (*thema/ propositio*) as a general statement being the result of the synthesis of particular elements, hinted at the dialectical procedure *specialia ad*

<sup>204</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §9, p. 471.

<sup>205</sup> Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', pp. 72-73. Mattheson, apart from identifying the subject of the fugue with the *propositio* (as did Angelo Berardi in 1690), referred also to the *dux-comes* relationship, considering them two opposing elements, "[...] two principal combatants who have to settle the issue with one another" (*Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part III, Chapter 20, §8, p. 367, translated by Butler, p. 76). Schmidt had also described the causal and complementary relationship between the *dux* and the *comes* by naming the former *propositio* and the latter *aetiologia*.

<sup>206</sup> Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', pp. 73-75. The same concept of the *thema* as a universal or general that was composed of a number of particles (atomic units) was also underscored by Giovanni Andrea Bontempi (1625-1705) in his *Historia musica, nella quale si ha piena cognizione della teorica* (Perugia: L. Costantini, 1695); see Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', pp. 80-82.



*generalia ducenda*, which was described in rhetorical terms as *locus generis et speciei*.<sup>207</sup>

In classical rhetoric, the most common case was that of the *narratio* being followed by the *argumentatio*, which consisted of the *confirmatio* and the *confutatio* (the latter was described by Cicero as *reprehensio*). These two sections were assigned contrasting processes: while the *confirmatio* tended to prove the orator's case and support the statement of the facts as presented in the *narratio*, the aim of the *confutatio* (*reprehensio*) was to refute the arguments and the objections that the opponent had developed against the defendant's case. The two terms were also linked under the term *contentio*, while, as in discussions concerning the musical-rhetorical *dispositio* (those by Mattheson and Weissenborn), the terms *confirmatio* and *confutatio* were reversible in musical composition, with the *confutatio* usually preceding the *confirmatio*.<sup>208</sup> In fugal composition, the *confutatio* was considered the reverse of the procedure described by Mattheson in the *propositio*; in other words, it involved the decomposition of the fugal *thema* back into its particular elements, proceeding this time 'from generals to specials' (*generalia ad specialia ducenda*), a process of thematic fragmentation described by J. A. Scheibe as *distributio* (dissection).<sup>209</sup>

<sup>207</sup> Mattheson described this particular *locus* as follows: "Counterpoint, for example, is a whole *genus* or a whole branch in the art of composing; but fugues are *Species*, types or categories. A *solo* is a *Genus*; a *Violino solo* is a *Species*, etc. For the former or the latter genus can be helpful to me, in a general way, according to the extent to which it reaches agreement with the words or the intent; the former or the latter species of melody can also lead me to a more precise or special way to invention" (*Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 4, §50, p. 292).

<sup>208</sup> Mattheson, in Chapter 14 of the second part of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (§4), lists the sections of the *dispositio* following the usual order: *exordium*, *narratio*, *propositio*, *confirmatio*, *confutatio*, and *peroratio*. However, in his detailed discussion of the individual stages he reverses the order between the *confirmatio* and the *confutatio* by placing the *confutatio* before the *confirmatio* (§§10-11, p. 236). Ernest Harriss, in his English translation of *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* presents the sections of the musical-rhetorical *dispositio* as they appeared in rhetoric with the *confirmatio* preceding the *confutatio*, regardless of Mattheson's reverse order of the two sections (*Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §§10-11, p. 471). Hans Lenneberg has also translated the relevant section presenting the *confutatio* before the *confirmatio* (Lenneberg, 'Johann Mattheson on Affect and Rhetoric in Music', p. 195).

<sup>209</sup> Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', p. 82. According to Scheibe, *distributio* occurred "[...] when one works out the principal subject of a piece in such a way that one dwells upon each part of it specially, one part after another" (Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, 1745, pp. 692-93, cited and translated by Butler, p. 83). Butler also describes *distributio* (*divisio*) as a separate section in the



Mattheson presented an illuminating definition of the musical-rhetorical *confutatio*, which he described as follows:

The *confutatio* is a resolution of the objections and may be expressed in music either through suspensions or also through the introduction and refutation of strange-seeming passages. For it is just by means of these elements of opposition, provided that they are deliberately rendered prominent, that the delight of the ear is strengthened and everything in the nature of dissonances and syncopations which may strike the ear is settled and resolved.<sup>210</sup>

Mattheson, obviously, alluded to contrasting themes or dissonances, suspensions or chromaticisms, which, when well stressed, tended to strengthen the hearing and support the original subject.<sup>211</sup> What dominates in his definition of the musical *confutatio* is the element of opposition expressed through clashing dissonances, which were the result of syncopation figures that involved harmonic and rhythmic contrapositions.<sup>212</sup> In fugal disposition, opposing statements were related to the *a contrario* element, the first of the four sections of the *amplificatio* process (*argumentatio*) that Schmidt and Weissenborn had linked with the inversion of the fugal subject.<sup>213</sup> However, before Mattheson and Schmidt, in early seventeenth-century musical-rhetorical treatises, the aspect of melodic or contrapuntal inversion was described by figures such as *hypallage*, *antistrophe*, and *antimetabole*, which referred literally to “the inversion of word order in a sentence to produce a contrary.”<sup>214</sup>

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rhetorical *dispositio* scheme and particularly as the reverse procedure of the *propositio*, since it appeared immediately after it. Forkel also referred to the *distributio* as a distinct section of the classical *dispositio* (Butler, p. 84).

<sup>210</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 14, §10, p. 236; translation of the original text quoted here from Butler, p. 84.

<sup>211</sup> Bartel, p. 81.

<sup>212</sup> Butler, p. 85. Apart from the syncopation figures, Butler points out later in his discussion of the process of opposition that Marpurg related rhythmic contraposition to the “[...] *imitatio per arsin et thesin oder in contrario tempore* [...]”, in Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Abhandlung von der Fuge nach dem Grundsätzen der besten deutschen und ausländischen Meister*, 2 vols (Berlin, 1753-54; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1858), i, p. 8, cited by Butler, p. 108 (footnote no. 136). This term referred to “[...] that type of imitation in which one part begins on the strong downbeat and the other on the weak upbeat” (Butler, p. 90). Marpurg illustrates this aspect of rhythmic opposition by citing a fugue by J. S. Bach.

<sup>213</sup> See pp. 114-15 of this chapter (footnote no. 188).

<sup>214</sup> Butler, ‘Music and Rhetoric in Early Seventeenth-Century English Sources’, p. 58. For a complete discussion of these figures, as they appeared in English seventeenth-century rhetorical



Sébastien de Brossard (1655-1730)<sup>215</sup> and Mauritius Vogt (1669-1730)<sup>216</sup> viewed opposition (*antithesis* or *contrapositum*) as a contrast by juxtaposition between subjects and countersubjects (thematic clash), while, in vocal music, Mattheson discussed musical opposites in relation to the nature of the text.<sup>217</sup> As he explained, oppositions “[...] can be expressed in different ways in song, be it through certain pitches which reverse their course; through intervals which run against one another; through abrupt alteration of the key, the pulse, etc.”<sup>218</sup> Finally, Meinrad Spiess (1683-1751)<sup>219</sup> referred to the impact of the defeat of expectations as the result of the opposition between dissonances and anticipated consonances, while Forkel in his *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Göttingen, 1788) added a new musical-rhetorical dimension to elements of opposition, which he described as proofs by example that served to clarify and exemplify the *thema* of the composition.<sup>220</sup>

On the other hand, while the musical *confutatio* aimed to reinforce the original thesis through the resolution of objections, it was the purpose of the musical *confirmatio* to strengthen the principal statement through numerous repetitions in varied forms.<sup>221</sup> Mattheson related the *confirmatio* to the repetition of the subject and considered it “[...] an artistic corroboration of the discourse, [...] commonly found in well-conceived repetitions which are used beyond expectations.”<sup>222</sup> In musical rhetoric, elements of repetition were linked to the augmentation and diminution techniques described by the rhetorical terms *paronomasia* and *schematoides*; of these figures, the former referred to the repetition of musical passages with additions and alterations for the sake of

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(mostly) treatises, together with the most frequently encountered terms related to fugal disposition, see pp. 23-27 of the present work.

<sup>215</sup> Sébastien de Brossard, *Dictionnaire de musique, contenant une explication des terms grecs, latins, italiens et françois* (Paris, 1703; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn 1705; ed. and trans. by A. Gruber, 1982).

<sup>216</sup> Mauritius Vogt, *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae* (Prague: G. Labaun, 1719).

<sup>217</sup> Butler, ‘Fugue and Rhetoric’, p. 87.

<sup>218</sup> Johann Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 9, §45, p. 392.

<sup>219</sup> Meinrad Spiess, *Tractatus musicus compositorio-practicus* (Augsburg: J. J. Lotter Heirs, 1745).

<sup>220</sup> Butler, ‘Fugue and Rhetoric’, pp. 88-90.

<sup>221</sup> Albrecht, p. 60.

<sup>222</sup> Johann Mattheson’s *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §10, p. 471.

emphasis,<sup>223</sup> while the latter involved the reworking of the same passage (*modulus*) through durational augmentation and diminution.<sup>224</sup> Accordingly, the eighteenth-century musical-rhetorical concept tended to refute the view that augmentation and diminution techniques were regarded as elements of opposition inherent in the *confutatio* procedure; rather, they acted as confirming agents, closely linked to the reinforcement of the original *protasis* (*thema*) through the application of means of repetition.

In fugal disposition, the musical *confirmatio* was related to the canonic imitation of the subject, in other words, to what is commonly known as *stretto*; this, in rhetorical terms, was linked to the overlapping repetitions of the arguments set forth to support the *propositio*, after the counterarguments had been refuted in the *confutatio*. Strict logical reasoning, a process that followed the statement of the *thesis*, was identified with a binding together of a series of repetitions of the initial subject, a technique that offered close parallels with the application of the *stretto* in the fugal *confirmatio*.<sup>225</sup> The close analogy between the *stretto* as a repetitive element and syllogistic reasoning in music was also inherent in the rhetorical *ratiocinatio*, one of the four basic procedures of the *amplificatio* that used to follow the statement of the subject and the objections

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<sup>223</sup> Forkel defined this figure as follows: "This figure [*repetitio*] is one of the most common in music and assumes its greatest benefit only when it is combined with the *paronomasia* (amplification). The *paronomasia* does not repeat a passage just as it already occurred but rather with new and powerful additions. These additions might apply either to single notes or can also be effected through a stronger or a weaker delivery", in Johann Nikolaus Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik* (Göttingen, 1788, 1801; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck und Verlagsanstalt, 1967), p. 57, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 352.

<sup>224</sup> According to Vogt, "the *schematoeides* is a *figura composita*, occurring when the same *modulus* which appears in longer note values in one voice is introduced confluent by another voice beginning somewhat later in shorter note values" (Mauritius Vogt, *Conclave thesauri magnae artis musicae*, p. 151, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 384). Printz supplied a more accurate definition of the *schematoeides*: "The *schematoeides minus perfectus* occurs when the intervals are the same but of longer duration. This is either *magis congruus* or *minus congruus* [with more or less correspondence]. *Magis congruus schematoeides* occurs when the intervals are the same and the notes are slower and yet in equal proportion to the notes of the figure. *Schematoeides minus congruus* occurs when the intervals are the same as those of a figure, but the duration of the notes are [*sic*] not of equal proportion to those of the figure", in Wolfgang C. Printz, *Phrynis Mytilenaeus oder satyrischer Componist* (Dresden & Leipzig: J. C. Mieth and J. C. Zimmermann, 1696), Part 2, p. 69, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 384.

<sup>225</sup> Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', pp. 94-96.



raised against it.<sup>226</sup> The anonymous author of the *Rhetorica ad Herrennium* defined *ratiocinatio* as follows: "We ask ourselves the reason for each statement we make, and seek the meaning of each successive affirmation."<sup>227</sup> In other words, he alluded to a process that, as becomes obvious, linked the *propositio* and its ensuing *confirmatio*. Consequently, Berardi related the syllogism of logic to the *stretto* imitation of the fugal subject, while Spiess, in his discussion of the rhetorical figure *constrictio*, held up strict canon as an indispensable element of the musical-rhetorical *confirmatio*; he considered it a powerful affirming agent, which justified its placement immediately after the proposition and the refutation of the compositional theme.<sup>228</sup>

Finally, the last section of the rhetorical *dispositio* was the *peroratio*, the counterpart of the *exordium*, to which Mattheson referred as "[...] the end or conclusion of [the] musical oration, which must produce an especially emphatic impression, more so than all other parts."<sup>229</sup> The expressive quality stressed here by Mattheson occurred during the whole progress of the *Klangrede* but mostly at the end (postlude), and was to incorporate a repetition of the introductory *exordium* in a ritornello form.<sup>230</sup> Forkel also referred to the affective repetitive element at the end of the musical oration, which he described as "the ultimate, strongest repetition of such phrases as constitute, as it were, a consequence of the preceding proofs, refutations, dissections and confirmations."<sup>231</sup>

In vocal music, it was customary to conclude an aria with the same passage with which it had begun, while in instrumental music, practice required that musical composition ceased with the use of a cadenza or coda at the end added

<sup>226</sup> Butler, 'Fugue and Rhetoric', p. 96. See also Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1921; repr. 1976), Book VIII. iii. 90, pp. 262-63; iv. 1 and 3, pp. 262-65: "I have, however, already dealt with the methods of invention and arrangement, and shall therefore now concern myself with the way in which style may elevate or depress the subject in hand. The first method of *amplification* or *attenuation* is to be found in the actual word employed to describe a thing. [...] I consider, however, that there are four principal methods of *amplification*: *augmentation* [*incrementum*], *comparison* [*comparatio*], *reasoning* [*ratiocinatio*] and *accumulation* [*congeries*]."

<sup>227</sup> Sonnino, p. 154.

<sup>228</sup> Butler, pp. 96-97.

<sup>229</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part II, Chapter 14, §12, p. 472.

<sup>230</sup> Bartel, p. 82.

<sup>231</sup> Forkel, *Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, p. 53, cited and translated by Butler, p. 97.



over a pedal point, a device named as *paragoge*, *manubrium*, or *supplementum*.<sup>232</sup> According to Schmidt and Weissenborn, in fugal disposition the *peroratio* was related to the repetition of the opening *propositio* (*protasis*),<sup>233</sup> while strict canonic treatment of the subject inherent in the preceding *confirmatio* in a *stretto* form was also identified with the character of the concluding *peroratio*. The element of a final cadence formed over a pedal note at the conclusion of the *Klangrede*, and in most cases of the fugue, was also underscored by C. P. E. Bach, who stressed that

It [pedal point] appears generally in learned things, especially fugues, near the end over the dominant or over the final note. Occasionally it will be found in the course of a piece over the dominant or tonic of a key reached by modulation. In the first case, composers often introduce all manner of contrapuntal devices in stretto.<sup>234</sup>

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<sup>232</sup> Burmeister defined *paragoge* as follows: "At the end [of the *harmonia*] an added structure or passage is sometimes found in which one or more among the voices of the *harmonia* end and rest in their final notes, be this in the *primarius* or *secundarius*, while the remaining voices elaborate around them for two, three, four, or more measures. They present nothing more than harmonic variations which could be assigned to one note and thereby most clearly fashion the introduced ending [...]. This passage is called *harmoniae supplementum*, that is, an *expolitio* or embellishment of the ending stationary voices with various in themselves harmonizing notes of the remaining united voices, the ending of the musical composition thereby being introduced and given clarification" (Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, p. 53, translated by Bartel, pp. 345-46). Walther, in his *Lexicon*, referred to *paragoge* as "[...] something [...] appended to the cadence which was not, however, expressly included by the composer but rather added by the performer", in Johann Gottfried Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon oder musicalische Bibliothec* (1732); Faksimile-Nachdruck herausgegeben von Richard Schaal, Documenta Musicologica, Erste Reihe: 3 (Kassel/Basel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1953), p. 462, translated by Bartel, p. 346. Walther obviously alluded to the *paragoge* as an improvised cadence rather than as a compositional coda, while, being an accomplished organist himself, the technique of improvisation over a pedal note at the final cadence was probably familiar to him.

<sup>233</sup> See footnote no. 188 on pages 114-15.

<sup>234</sup> Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach, *Versuch über die wahre Art das Clavier zu spielen* (Berlin, 1753; 1759; repr. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1978); English translation: *Essay on the True Art of Playing Keyboard Instruments*, ed. by W. J. Mitchell (London: Cassell, 1949), p. 319; see also Butler, p. 98. The same aspect of *stretto* treatment of the subject at the end of the fugue over a dominant pedal was stressed by Johann Adolph Scheibe (*Der critische Musikus*), as well as by Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg in his *Handbuch bey dem Generalbasse und der Composition* (Berlin, 1755-60; facs. ed. Hildesheim, 1974). Before Marpurg, Angelo Berardi, in his *Documenti armonici* (Bologna, 1687), discussed the *stretto* technique which he considered more applicable at the conclusion of the fugue. David Sheldon ('The Stretto Principle', pp. 556-57) points out the great unanimity among seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian writers, including Giovanni Maria Bononcini (*Musico pratico*, Bologna, 1673) and Giambattista Martini (*Esemplare*, 1775), in terms of treating the fugal subject in *stretto* form at the end of the composition.



Following the *dispositio*, the third branch of the rhetorical framework was the *elocutio*, the section that involved the application of the technical devices employed by orators, in order to embellish their ideas with rhetorical imagery and create a greater persuasive effect. Accordingly, and due to the diffusion of rhetoric and rhetorical terminology into musical circles, the development of a musical *Figurenlehre* emerged from a need to equate pre-existing musical concepts with familiar rhetorical terminology.<sup>235</sup> While early references to musical-rhetorical figures were formed on the expression of the text according to the rules of sixteenth-century imitative counterpoint, it was during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that musical-rhetorical figures acted as principal agents for the arousal of the affections. The large number of musical-rhetorical treatises that appeared after Burmeister first compiled his *Musica poetica* (1606) testifies to the application of the rhetorical approach to musical composition, as well as to its ensuing acceptance during the Baroque era. However, due to the fact that each individual writer supplied his own concept of *Figurenlehre*, whether this was grounded on dissonance treatment (C. Bernhard), rhetorical context (J. Nucius, J. Thuringus), or expression of the affections (A. Kircher), conflicts in definitions of figures and discrepancies in terminology were unavoidable. Thus, no one can claim that a systematic doctrine of *Figurenlehre* was formulated in Baroque theoretical sources.<sup>236</sup>

The definitions of a large number of musical figures demonstrate a close connection with the original rhetorical terminology, while in other cases musical nomenclature was coined to emulate the rhetorical one.<sup>237</sup> In some instances, affective figures were defined by the same expressive content in both music and rhetoric, as for example, in the cases of the *exclamatio* and the *interrogatio*.<sup>238</sup> It was the same also for the figures of silence, which were translated musically in close context with their initial rhetorical function. In rhetoric, the most expressive

<sup>235</sup> Bartel, pp. 82-83.

<sup>236</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.

<sup>237</sup> Gorman, p. 23. See also Bartel, p. 87.

<sup>238</sup> Bartel, pp. 87-88. According to Bartel, the *exclamatio* or *ecphonesis* was defined as "a musical exclamation, frequently associated with an exclamation in the text", while the *interrogatio* was "a musical question rendered variously through pauses, a rise at the end of the phrase or melody, or through imperfect or phrygian cadences" (Bartel, pp. 265 and 312).



of the silent figures was the *aposiopesis*, which Susenbrotus defined as a figure that occurred “[...] when a part of the oration is cut off for the sake of the affection, other interruption, or even transposition, or for some other reason.”<sup>239</sup> The *aposiopesis* was considered an intentional suppression that usually followed a rhetorical question, when the orator broke off on purpose the flow of his speech, allowing the listener to presume the answer on his own. The majority of German writers related the *aposiopesis* to a general rest in all voices of a composition, while its affective content was linked to texts that dealt with death or eternity.<sup>240</sup> On the other hand, musical figures sometimes featured technical devices with expressive characteristics (e.g. dissonance treatment), as in the case of the *saltus duriusculus*, a musical device without a rhetorical counterpart, encountered only in Bernhard’s *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*.<sup>241</sup>

Furthermore, since aspects of repetition were highly esteemed in verbal rhetoric, usually related to points of emphasis or amplification, specific musical-rhetorical figures described elements of repetition, while particular fugal techniques were assigned musical-rhetorical terminology. A figure occasionally encountered in rhetoric was the *climax* or *gradatio*, which Quintilian described not only as a means of repetition, but also as an *amplificatio* technique through which the orator dwelled on his previous arguments before proceeding to the

<sup>239</sup> Johannes Susenbrotus, *Epitome troporum*, p. 27, translated by Bartel, p. 204.

<sup>240</sup> Bartel, pp. 203-04. According to Spiess, “the *aposiopesis*, suppression, concealment, silence, occurs when either all voices are silenced through a general pause, or when a single voice stops and breaks off when it should actually continue to sing and progress into the appropriate cadence” (Meinrad Spiess, *Tractatus*, p. 155, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 206).

<sup>241</sup> Bartel (p. 87) mentions *transitus* as an example. It was the same also for figures that described dissonances (*passus duriusculus*, *saltus duriusculus*) or even consonances (*salto semplice*), which could not be formed on a rhetorical counterpart. Both the *passus* and the *saltus duriusculus* were determined by the Latin adjective *durus*, which means something ‘hard’ or ‘harsh’. Under the figure *saltus duriusculus* Bernhard described forbidden leaps that were during his time permitted in the *stylus luxurians communis*, and these included those of a diminished fourth, minor sixth, diminished fifth, and diminished seventh, or even leaps of a regular seventh and ninth (see Bernhard, *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus*, §§1-5, as it appears in Hilse, p. 105). *Passus duriusculus* was also a musical figure based on no rhetorical nomenclature, which described ‘harsh steps’ in a musical line through the use of chromatic semitones (Bernhard, *Tractatus*, §§1-7; Hilse, pp. 103-04). Finally, *salto semplice* was related by Printz to the leaps of consonant thirds, fourths, fifths, sixths, and octaves (Bartel, p. 380). While none of these figures could be expressed in verbal rhetoric, in musical rhetoric, and particularly in the *stylus recitativus* they were related to the effective expression of the text, “[...] where these leaps may be admitted to suit certain affects” (Bernhard, *Ausführlicher Bericht*, Chapter 9, §4, as it appears in Hilse, p. 72).



following ones.<sup>242</sup> In music, this figure was identified by Nucius and Thuringus with an ascending or descending parallel motion of two voices, whether these were the soprano and bass progressing in parallel tenths, or the bass and tenor moving in parallel thirds. In addition to that, Walther, in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (1732), expanded on the application of the *climax* to music, by relating it to the repetition of a passage at progressively higher pitches. Finally, Scheibe and Forkel stressed the aspect of intensification inherent in the *gradatio*, when they referred to a stepwise progression from weak to strong passages, which was reflected by a change in dynamics (i.e. a gradual *crescendo* from *piano* to *fortissimo*).<sup>243</sup>

Another more affective figure of repetition was the *paronomasia* (*adnominatio*), a device that occurred when the orator repeated words or phrases with additions or alterations with a view to emphasizing his arguments and achieving greater intensity.<sup>244</sup> Scheibe, in his *Der critische Musikus*, related *paronomasia* with amplification by describing it as the repetition of a musical passage with certain modifications.<sup>245</sup> Elements of repetition and alteration were illustrated musically either through the addition of notes, changes in dynamics and in duration, or even through changes in rhythm, since the aim of the composer, following the rhetorical objective, was to heighten the appropriate affective expression.<sup>246</sup> As Scheibe maintained,

[the *paronomasia*] is used in instrumental and vocal music with equal emphasis. Very frequently a few notes in a passage are repeated with a special and new short addition which might only consist of one note. Furthermore, certain passages can be repeated with the specification

<sup>242</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1976), Book IX. iii. 54-55, pp. 476-77: "Gradation, which the Greeks call *climax*, necessitates a more obvious and less natural application of art and should therefore be more sparingly employed. Moreover, it involves *addition*, since it repeats what has already been said and, before passing to a new point, dwells on those which precede."

<sup>243</sup> For definitions of the *gradatio*, as discussed by different authors, see Bartel, pp. 220-24.

<sup>244</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1976), Book IX. iii. 66-67, pp. 484-85: "There is a third class of *figures* which attracts the ear of the audience and excites their attention by some resemblance, equality or contrast of words. To this class belongs *paronomasia*, which we call *adnominatio*. This may be effected in different ways. It may depend on the resemblance of one word to another which has preceded, although the words are in different cases. [...] Or the same word may be repeated with greater meaning [...]."

<sup>245</sup> See also pp. 122-23 of this chapter.

<sup>246</sup> Bartel, pp. 350-52.



soft (*piano*) or strong (*forte*). [...] Repetitions of only a few notes can also occur with a changed or slower beat or with notes of double duration. In any case, however, the repetition must strengthen the emphasis of the expression and must lend it a singular beauty.<sup>247</sup>

Finally, while fugal composition was related to the objective parts of the oration, usually linked to aspects of logical reasoning, particular fugal techniques were assigned rhetorical designation, as occurred, for instance, in the case of the double fugue. The rhetorical term (*trope*) chosen to describe a fugue with a two-part subject was the *metalepsis* or *transumptio*, which in rhetoric involved two unrelated terms that were brought together through a third transitional one (*transumptio*).<sup>248</sup> In other words, as Vossius explained in his *Commentatorium rhetoricorum*, “the *metalepsis* occurs when the subsequent is understood from the antecedent, or the antecedent from the subsequent.”<sup>249</sup> Burmeister adopted this concept in his *Musica poetica*, when he defined the *metalepsis* as a double fugue, when two subjects were introduced simultaneously by two voices, while the remaining voices adopted and alternated either of the subjects throughout the composition.<sup>250</sup> Burmeister’s attempts to model a musical *Figurenlehre* on a rhetorical basis were also reflected in his definition of the musical figure *apocope*. While the literal meaning of the *apocope* signified the omission of a word’s final

<sup>247</sup> Scheibe, *Der critische Musikus*, p. 691ff., cited and translated by Bartel, pp. 351-52.

<sup>248</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, iii (1976), Book VIII. vi. 38, pp. 322-23: “It is the nature of *metalepsis* to form a kind of intermediate step between the term transferred and the thing to which it is transferred, having no meaning in itself, but merely providing a transition. [...] The commonest example is the following: *cano* is a synonym for *canto* and *canto* for *dico*, therefore *cano* is a synonym for *dico*, the intermediate step being provided by *canto*.”

<sup>249</sup> Gerardus Vossius, *Commentatorium rhetoricorum*, ii (Leiden, 1606), p. 162, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 322.

<sup>250</sup> In his *Musica autoschediastikē* Burmeister defined *metalepsis* as follows: “*Metalepsis* is that manner of fugue in which two voices on the one hand, and the remaining voices on the other, present different melodies simultaneously or at a temporal distance. The second group of voices [then] exchange melodies here and there with the first pair and proceed in fugue [...]” (*Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, pp. xxvi). Both the *metalepsis* and the *hypallage* (inversion of the fugal subject) were described by Burmeister in his three treatises (*Hypomnematum musicae poeticae*, *Musica autoschediastikē*, and *Musica poetica*), in which he cited musical examples from works of Clemens non Papa and Orlando Lassus. Burmeister obviously realized the need for alterations in his definitions, since, in the final version of his *Musica poetica*, he supplied a more concise definition of the *metalepsis*: “*Metalepsis* is that manner of fugue in which two melodies are interchanged here and there in the polyphony and treated fugally” (*Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, p. xxix).



letter or syllable,<sup>251</sup> Burmeister related it to a premature cutting off of the statement of the subject in one of the voices in an imitative texture.<sup>252</sup> Burmeister's definition of the *apocope* referring to the deficiency of the exposition of the fugal theme was adapted later by Thuringus, who described it as an incomplete ending of a musical texture.<sup>253</sup> Walther, finally, alluded to the affective character of the *apocope* illustrating its text-expressive application:

The *apocope* is a musical figure which occurs when the last note of a musical passage is not completely held out but rather is quickly snapped off. It is used to express those words which seem to require such treatment.<sup>254</sup>

Following the discussion of the elaboration of the *Klangrede* with expressive musical-rhetorical figures, the last two steps that concluded the arrangement of a rhetorically based musical composition were the *memoratio* (memorization) and the *actio* or *pronuntiatio* (delivery and performance of the musical speech). Baroque music theory and practice were oriented towards the first three structural steps (*inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*), since the aim of *musica poetica* was to adopt an orderly rhetorical plan, rather than a theatrical presentation of a rhetorical speech.<sup>255</sup> Although Renaissance rhetoric tended to favour effective delivery (*pronuntiatio*),<sup>256</sup> the German Baroque context encouraged a methodical construction rather than a dramatic delivery of the *Klangrede*. The preponderance of the *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio* sections over the *memoratio* and *pronuntiatio* was reflected initially in German rhetorical

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<sup>251</sup> "Apocope means 'a cutting off.' In rhetoric: 'What is *apocope*? It is, at the end of a word, the cutting off [*abscisio*] of a letter, as in *Achilli* instead of *Achillis*, or of a syllable, as in *do* instead of *doma*, in Homer", in Lucas Lossius, *Erotemata dialecticae et rhetoricae Philippi Melanchthonis et praeceptionum Erasmi Roterodami* (Frankfurt: Petrus Brub, 1552), p. 185, quoted by Benito V. Rivera in *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, p. 163 (footnote no. 13).

<sup>252</sup> "Apocope (*apokope*) is a fugue that is not completed in all the voices. Instead, its subject, interrupted in mid-fugue, is cut off in one voice for some reason [...]" (*Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, pp. 163-65).

<sup>253</sup> Thuringus described the *apocope* as follows: "What is an *apocope*? It occurs when the final note is substantially cut and the composition is ended with a *nota minima*, resulting in an incomplete ending", in Joachim Thuringus, *Opusculum bipartitum de primordiis musicis* (Berlin: G. Runge, 1624), p. 127, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 202.

<sup>254</sup> Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Faksimile-Nachdruck; Kassel/ Basel: Bärenreiter, 1953), p. 41, translated by Bartel, p. 202.

<sup>255</sup> Bartel, pp. 67-68.

<sup>256</sup> Wilson, Buelow, and Hoyt, p. 261.

textbooks; Vossius, for instance, in his *Commentatorium rhetoricorum*, elaborated in his five books on the *inventio*, *dispositio*, and *elocutio*, while *memoratio* and *pronuntiatio* were briefly discussed in two short chapters at the end of the fifth book. Accordingly, composers' attempts to structure a musical composition emulating a rhetorical discourse were mostly determined by *inventio's loci topici*, *dispositio's* well-conceived sections, and *elocutio's* expressive rhetorical figures, than by stages concerning memory, delivery, and performance.<sup>257</sup>

In conclusion, as has been pointed out, the close bonds between classical rhetoric and music resulted in the unique phenomenon of musical rhetoric (*Klangrede*),<sup>1</sup> a concept that emphasized the orderly, structured and affection-oriented aspects of musical composition. While the rhetorical approach and the application of rhetorical figures was initially identified in texted music, where the interactions between the two disciplines were more obvious, theorists including Johann Adolph Scheibe and Johann Mattheson introduced the representation of rhetorical ideas and the depiction of musical-rhetorical figures in instrumental music.

Despite the idiosyncrasies inherent in any theory regarding the function of the ideal *Klangrede* in musical composition, the ultimate arbiter that determined the validity of any particular approach was the application of a well-articulated classical rhetorical *dispositio*, together with the prominent use of expressive musical-rhetorical figures. The *praeludia* of the Danish composer Dieterich Buxtehude stand as an exceptional case in Baroque organ music, as a style that reflects the order, inner logic, and the specifications of the rhetorical *dispositio*.<sup>258</sup> Buxtehude's free organ works demonstrate a good sample of the *stylus phantasticus*, tightly organized in terms of texture and harmony, and show that a rhetorical approach was inherent in the musical thought of the composer whether he was acquainted with the treatises of his time or not. The multisectional structure of the north German organ works usually entitled *toccatas* or *fantasias* is

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<sup>257</sup> Bartel, p. 67.

<sup>258</sup> The rhetorical structure of Buxtehude's free organ works is discussed in detail by Sharon Lee Gorman in her 'Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Praeludia of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707)' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Stanford University, 1990).



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also encountered in the compositions of Buxtehude's pupil Nicolaus Bruhns (*praeludia* in E minor and G major), while Johann Sebastian Bach's early organ works (particularly the Prelude in A minor - BWV 551) show the efforts of the young composer to structure his music on the basis of the rhetorical *dispositio*, following as a model the Buxtehudian manner. Although neither Nicolaus Bruhns nor Johann Sebastian Bach managed to emulate the unique *Klangrede* that Dieterich Buxtehude propagated, aspects related to musical-rhetorical figures and texture are fundamental to their musical thought. The type of *dispositio* encountered in Buxtehude's preludes, namely a tightly woven structure consisting of an alternation between free and fugal sections, is identified only in Bach's Prelude in A minor (BWV 551), a piece dating from 1703/04; in other early organ works (e.g. Preludes in C major and C minor - BWV 531 and BWV 549) Bach applied a simple form of *dispositio*, which consisted of a main fugal section (*confirmatio*) prefaced by and concluding with a free segment (*exordium* and *peroratio*). In every case, Bach followed the rhetorical tradition that considered the *exordium* and the *peroratio* the affective parts of the discourse that required eloquent language for the arousal of the emotions, and the *narratio/ confirmatio* the objective parts that supported the statement of the fugal subject. The identification of musical-rhetorical figures in organ chorale preludes, and the application of the rhetorical structure in specific free organ works will be the subject of the following chapters.

### 3. MUSICAL-RHETORICAL FIGURES AND TEXTUAL DEPICTION: EXAMPLES FROM CHORALE PRELUDES BY DIETERICH BUXTEHUDE AND JOHANN SEBASTIAN BACH

Before discussing the application of the rhetorical structure in the free organ works of Dieterich Buxtehude and in the early compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach, it is useful to examine aspects of musical-rhetorical figures in chorale preludes by the above composers, which support the notion that rhetorical figures were used in order to portray the theological symbolism of the text. Although the close bonds between rhetorical figures and music are mostly apparent in vocal works,<sup>1</sup> in instrumental music, chorale preludes composed on simple Lutheran melodies demonstrate that composers were in most cases inclined towards the arousal of the emotional content and the illustration of the exegetical meaning of the chorale texts.<sup>2</sup> Liturgical practice with its emphasis on Scripture and exegesis constituted the basis of Luther's theology, and Lutheran hymns held a particular place in the theological tradition.<sup>3</sup> As a result of the close relationship between music and theology, and since organ chorales might have occasionally accompanied the congregation in singing, chorale settings were rooted in a tradition in which the musical-textual basis was exegetical.<sup>4</sup> Accordingly, composers of chorale preludes borrowed an extensive number of figures from rhetoric in order to depict the allegorical meaning of the text inherent in the chorale melody. Whether specific figures were adopted by Baroque composers in order to illustrate the spirituality of the text or not has been a subject of dispute

<sup>1</sup> Manfred Bukofzer, 'Allegory in Baroque Music', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 3 (1939-40), 1-21. For aspects regarding allegory in Bach's vocal music, see Eric Chafe, *Tonal Allegory in the Vocal Music of J. S. Bach* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991). Chafe's theories on tonal allegory, as well as Bukofzer's general arguments on musical allegory and symbolism, are denounced by David Schulenberg in his "'Musical Allegory" Reconsidered: Representation and Imagination in the Baroque', *The Journal of Musicology*, 13.2 (Spring 1995), 203-39.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Clark and John David Peterson, 'The *Orgelbüchlein*: Musical Figures and Musical Expression', *The American Organist*, 19.3 (March 1985), 79-81 (p. 80).

<sup>3</sup> E. Ann Matter, 'Buxtehude and Pietism? A Reappraisal', *The American Organist*, 21.5 (May 1987), 81-83 (p. 82). D. Buxtehude, and particularly J. S. Bach, were negative towards Pietism and both were committed to Lutheran Orthodoxy. According to Clark and Peterson (p. 80), Bach's dedication to Lutheran Orthodoxy was the reason why he rejected the position of Cantor at the Liebfrauenkirche in Halle in 1714.

<sup>4</sup> Clark and Peterson, 'The *Orgelbüchlein*', p. 80.



among modern scholars.<sup>5</sup> The following examples of chorale preludes by D. Buxtehude and J. S. Bach will show that these two composers considered the text an influential factor regarding the music they were setting, and, in the majority of cases, the application of expressive musical-rhetorical figures was determined by the symbolism and the general 'affect' of the text.<sup>6</sup>

According to the tradition established in Lutheran Germany, one of the primary duties of the north German organist lay in the expressive elaboration of the hymns of German Lutheran worship.<sup>7</sup> The Danish composer Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707), who in 1668 succeeded Franz Tunder as organist at the St Marienkirche in Lübeck,<sup>8</sup> composed forty-seven highly elaborate chorale settings, which are divided into chorale variations, chorale ricercars, chorale fantasias, and chorale preludes, each illustrating a different treatment of the chorale.<sup>9</sup> The most characteristic group are his twenty-seven short four-voice chorale preludes,<sup>10</sup> easily understood as chorale variations, which served as

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<sup>5</sup> Clark and Peterson, for instance, conclude their discussion of the *Orgelbüchlein* with the following comments (p. 81): "Fourth is the fascinating and never-ending task of relating Bach's use of musical materials to the specific or general meaning of the text. Here a performer should be thoroughly original, and at least initially reject any notion that a figure automatically carries an implied meaning or symbol." See also Peter Williams, 'Need Organists Pay Attention to Theorists of Rhetoric?', *The Diapason*, 73 (1982), 3-4; and by the same author, 'The Snares and Delusions of Musical Rhetoric: Some Examples from Recent Writings on J. S. Bach', in *Alte Musik: Praxis und Reflexion*, ed. by Peter Reidemeister and Veronica Gutmann (Winterthur: Amadeus, 1983), pp. 230-40; 'Figurenlehre from Monteverdi to Wagner', *The Musical Times*, 120 (1979), 476-79, 571-73, 648-50, 816-18; 'Encounters with the Chromatic Fourth... or, More on Figurenlehre, 1 & 2', *The Musical Times*, 126 (May & June 1985), 276-78 and 339-43.

<sup>6</sup> Two of the most striking examples of musical symbolism are the settings of the chorale melody *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* by D. Buxtehude and J. S. Bach. Other chorale preludes demonstrate simpler treatments of the original melody, such as *Ich ruf' zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (BWV 639) from the *Orgelbüchlein*, which can be considered symbolic in a general way, since the absence of expressive musical-rhetorical figures coincides with the plaintive character of the text.

<sup>7</sup> Kerala J. Snyder, 'Buxtehude, Dieterich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), iv, pp. 695-710 (p. 701). See also the same article in *The New Grove North European Baroque Masters*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, The Composer Biography Series (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 173-213. For a complete bibliography on Dieterich Buxtehude, see Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck* (New York: Schirmer; London: Collier-Macmillan, 1987). Some portions of Snyder's monumental work (1987) had been also published earlier in commemoration of the 350<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Buxtehude's birth in *The American Organist*, 21.5 (May 1987), 58-91.

<sup>8</sup> Wilhelm Stahl, 'Franz Tunder und Dietrich Buxtehude', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 8 (1926), 1-77.

<sup>9</sup> Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, trans. and rev. by Hans Tischler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972), pp. 610-23.

<sup>10</sup> It was due to Johann Gottfried Walther, who copied out Buxtehude's chorale preludes, that a large number of them has survived; see Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*, vol. 1, pp. 256-310 (p. 285).

improvised introductions to the hymn that was to be sung by the congregation.<sup>11</sup> Buxtehude's chorale preludes intended for two manuals and pedal demonstrate one of his compositional techniques, in which the cantus firmus appears complete in one voice only - in most cases the soprano - richly furnished with elaborate yet subtle ornamentation, while the lines of the chorale are separated by extended rests.<sup>12</sup>

Buxtehude's style, as formulated in his chorale preludes, can be traced back to Heinrich Scheidemann (1623-1722),<sup>13</sup> who had developed extensively the genre of the 'monodic' organ chorale,<sup>14</sup> a format in which the cantus firmus, vocally inspired with gesture-like figures, appeared in the soprano, with the lower voices supporting the harmony or occasionally pre-imitating the next line of the chorale melody. Franz Tunder (1616-1674)<sup>15</sup> in his chorale fantasias had exploited the same monodic style as Scheidemann, and developed "a new kind of figuration [...] in which a note is stressed expressively by an individual figure only here and there."<sup>16</sup> Tunder particularly cultivated the chorale fantasia, an imposing musical genre with strong German and Italian influences, in which each chorale line is presented twice, once in an ornamented form in the soprano, and

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<sup>11</sup> Robert L. Marshall and Robin A. Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), v, pp. 747-63 (p. 758). See also Dietrich Buxtehude. *Organ Music Vol. 2*. Julia Brown. Naxos: The Organ Encyclopedia. CD 8.555775. Naxos has released three volumes of Buxtehude's organ music, all containing apart from the composer's well-known free organ works, a large number of his chorale variations, chorale preludes, and chorale fantasias. Volker Ellenberger and Wolfgang Rübsam have recorded volumes 1 and 3 respectively.

<sup>12</sup> Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, p. 621.

<sup>13</sup> Geoffrey Webber, 'The North German Organ School', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Organ*, ed. by Nicholas Thistlethwaite and Geoffrey Webber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 219-35 (p. 225). See also Werner Breig, 'Die geschichtliche Stellung von Buxtehudes monodischem Orgelchoral', in *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit: Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987*, ed. by Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), pp. 260-74 (p. 266). Moreover, Arnfried Edler, 'Buxtehude und die norddeutsche Choralfantasie', in *Dietrich Buxtehude und die europäische Musik seiner Zeit: Bericht über das Lübecker Symposium 1987*, ed. by Arnfried Edler and Friedhelm Krummacher (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1990), pp. 275-88 (p. 277).

<sup>14</sup> Scheidemann also wrote elaborate and extended chorale fantasias; the most characteristic include *Ein feste Burg* and *Wir glauben all an einen Gott*; see Webber, 'The North German Organ School', p. 225.

<sup>15</sup> John Butt, 'Germany and The Netherlands', in *Keyboard Music Before 1700*, ed. by Alexander Silbiger (New York: Schirmer, 1995), pp. 147-234 (p. 191). See also Frederick Hudson, 'Franz Tunder, the North-Elbe Music School and its Influence on J. S. Bach', *The Organ Yearbook*, 7 (1977), 20-40.

<sup>16</sup> Apel, p. 594. See also Lawrence Archbold, 'Towards a Critical Understanding of Buxtehude's Expressive Chorale Preludes', in *Church, Stage, and Studio: Music and its Contexts in Seventeenth-Century Germany*, ed. by Paul Walker, *Studies in Music*, 107 (Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI Research Press, 1990), pp. 87-106 (p. 89).



once unadorned in the bass.<sup>17</sup> The fragmentation technique forms the basis of Tunder's chorale fantasias, in which a few notes of the chorale line provide motives that are treated imitatively, usually employing echo repetitions, while the cantus firmus appears either embellished with virtuoso running passages, or - more closely to Scheidemann's style - with affective ornamentation.<sup>18</sup>

The chorale-based compositional genre, as pioneered by Scheidemann and Tunder, was adopted by Buxtehude, who, in his chorale preludes, appropriated the same tradition by embellishing the cantus firmus with 'vocal' ornaments,<sup>19</sup> imitating, in some way, the human voice.<sup>20</sup> This technique is reminiscent of the Italian manner of singing as described by Christoph Bernhard in his *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier* (c. 1650), in which he described two singing techniques: the *Manier* and the *cantar passagiato*.<sup>21</sup> The first style was divided into two subcategories. The *cantar sodo* (plain singing) was "[...] the kind dwelling only upon the notes themselves [...]",<sup>22</sup> in which the singer could master several 'refinements', adding a few passing notes and trills.<sup>23</sup> The second one, the *cantar d'affetto*, was

[...] meant for singers only, as they alone are confronted with a text. Even so, instrumentalists can to some extent apply its principles, insofar as they know how to produce and control joyous or melancholy sounds upon their instruments.<sup>24</sup>

According to Bernhard, the thorough understanding of the text and the arousal of the inherent affects were two of the singer's primary responsibilities, while music set appropriately to the words of the text could easily arouse noble affects, such as

<sup>17</sup> Apel, p. 594.

<sup>18</sup> *ibid.*, p. 594. See also Marshall and Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', p. 757.

<sup>19</sup> Marshall and Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', p. 758.

<sup>20</sup> Snyder, 'Buxtehude, Dieterich', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 701. The plethora of gesture-like figures that dominate in Buxtehude's chorale preludes is reminiscent of the figurations employed by the vocal art of his time, and are particularly encountered in his solo cantatas (Apel, p. 621). See also Christoph Wolff, 'Präludium (Toccata) und Sonata: Formbildung und Gattungstradition in der Orgelmusik Buxtehudes und seines Kreises', in *Orgel, Orgelmusik und Orgelspiel: Festschrift Michael Schneider zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Christoph Wolff (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1985), pp. 55-64.

<sup>21</sup> Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, pp. 268-69. For the *cantar passagiato*, see the discussion in the first chapter of this study, p. 58.

<sup>22</sup> Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, §5, as it appears in Hilse, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> These included the following: *fermo*, *forte*, *piano*, *trillo*, *accento*, *anticipatione della syllaba*, *anticipatione della nota*, *cercar della nota*, and *ardire*; see Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst*, §§6-25 (Hilse, pp. 14-20). See also Butt, *Music Education and the Art of Performance in the German Baroque*, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst*, §26, as it appears in Hilse, p. 20.

joy, sorrow, anger, and contentment.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, Bernhard observed that the use of refinements of the *Manier* style such as *piano*, *cercar della nota*, *anticipazione della syllaba*, and *anticipazione della nota* would reinforce the melancholy affect of music.<sup>26</sup>

Buxtehude's chorale preludes demonstrate undeniable evidence of word-painting, in which music, harmony, and affective ornamentation depict the general allegory and the symbolism of the text through a unique combination of the Lutheran chorale with the *stylus phantasticus*.<sup>27</sup> One of the finest examples, very close to what has been described above as *cantar d'affetto*, is the chorale prelude *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (BuxWV 183) - its original hymn melody dates from the early Reformation -<sup>28</sup> which illustrates the sense of man's fall through the application of expressive rhetorical figures.



Example 1. *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (original melody)<sup>29</sup>

Buxtehude's treatment of the chorale follows the *pathos*-laden character of the text inherent in the first stanza of the hymn, and although later stanzas convey the sense of redemption and the hope for salvation through Christ, it was probably the allegory of the first stanza that the composer illustrated when he set harmony to the chorale melody.<sup>30</sup> In Buxtehude's chorale preludes, the first and second line of the chorale are repeated with different harmonization, in contrast to the chorale

<sup>25</sup> Bernhard, *Von der Singe-Kunst oder Manier*, §31 (Hilse, p. 21).

<sup>26</sup> *ibid.*, §32 (Hilse, p. 21).

<sup>27</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Buxtehude, Bach, and Seventeenth-Century Music in Retrospect', in his *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 39-55 (pp. 46-47).

<sup>28</sup> Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, p. 269.

<sup>29</sup> Adopted from Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 304.

<sup>30</sup> The first stanza of Lazarus Spengler's hymn (1524) is as follows: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt/ menschlich Natur und Wesen/ dasselb Gift ist auf uns geerbt/ dass wir nicht konnten gnesen/ ohn Gottes Trost, der uns erlöst/ hat von dem grossen Schaden/ darein die Schlang Eva bezwang/ Gottes Zorn auf sich zu laden.* English translation: Through Adam's fall is totally spoiled/ all human nature and being/ the same poison is bequeathed to us/ from which we cannot be delivered/ without the solace of God, who has/ redeemed us from the great disgrace/ by which the serpent forced Eve/ to draw God's anger down upon herself. See Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 304.



preludes from the *Orgelbüchlein*, where Bach simply indicates a repetition of the first two lines.

Adam's fall is illustrated in the second bar of the first line of the prelude with a *salto semplice* (a leap of a perfect fifth) in the bass, acting as a *hypotyposis* figure (the representation of the sense of fall), which is also intensified by the expressive rest before the first pedal note (*tnesis*).<sup>31</sup> The same illustration in the bass, commencing with a *tnesis* and followed by two *salti semplici* occurs two bars later (bars 4-5, where the cantus firmus sings the phrase 'ganz verderbt'), resulting in an *anaphora (repetitio)*.<sup>32</sup>



Example 2. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 1-7)<sup>33</sup>

The first line concludes in bar 5, where the two inner voices illustrate a free transition to the next phrase with suspensions (*syncopatio*s) followed by decorative resolutions in the tenor heard four times in a descending sequence (*climax*).<sup>34</sup> Additionally, the dissonances occurring between the tenor and the alto on the accented beats (starting from the third beat of bar 5 until the second beat of

<sup>31</sup> *Tmesis*, a figure of silence, illustrates expressive rests, which, according to Athanasius Kircher, serve "to express the effect (Affekt) *suspirantis animae* 'of a sighing of a spirit.'" See Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* (1650), Part 2, para. 8, p. 144, cited in Benitez, 'Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', p. 10. See also Peter Reichert, 'Musikalische Rhetorik in den Choralvorspielen von Dietrich Buxtehude', *Acta Organologica*, 24 (1994), 145-84 (p. 164).

<sup>32</sup> The *anaphora (repetitio)* describes a general form of repetition, while different definitions have been given by different authors. Burmeister restricted the *anaphora* to the repetition of a bass line, Nucius (*Musices poeticae*) described *anaphora* as a repetition of a theme in the same voice but on different pitches, while according to Kircher (*Musurgia universalis*, Book 8, p. 144), "[...] *anaphora* or *repetitio* occurs when a passage is frequently repeated for emphasis's sake. It is often used in vehement affections such as ferocity or scorn, as exemplified in a composition based on the text [...]" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 188).

<sup>33</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the examples and bar numbers given are drawn from Beckmann's edition of Buxtehude's chorale preludes; see Dietrich Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. by Klaus Beckmann, rev. edn, vol. 3, Choral Settings A-Ma (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1995).

<sup>34</sup> Although the *climax (gradatio)* is usually related to ascending repetitions (*climax* meaning ladder in Greek, therefore alluding to something rising), Burmeister, while defining *climax* as "[...] that which repeats similar pitch (patterns) on gradations of pitch levels", cites a musical example by Clemens non Papa, in which a basic motive is repeated in lower pitches. See *Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito V. Rivera, p. 181. As Bartel notes (p. 221), "[...] the verbal root of *climax* (*klino*: to bow, turn away) suggests a downward rather than an upward or intensifying motion."

bar 7), illustrate the figure *commissura/transitus irregularis* (or *symblema*).<sup>35</sup> The chorale melody enters again in bar 7, while in bars 9-10 the *auxesis* (*incrementum*) figure is illustrated with the vehement stepwise repetition of the first motive of the discant (bar 9);<sup>36</sup> the same figure (*auxesis*) also occurs in the inner voices (starting from the third beat of bar 9), reinforced by the expressive rest before each quaver chord (*tmesis*). After the end of the second line, the chorale melody is announced in the bass (*vorimitation* technique, bars 11-12), before the introduction of the third line (bars 13-17), illustrating the *paronomasia* figure.<sup>37</sup>



Example 3. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 8-23)

The third chorale line 'dasselb Gift ist auf uns geerbt' ('the same poison is bequeathed to us') is introduced by a free embellishment beginning on the downbeat (bar 13), of which the semiquaver rapid passage spanning a fourth (f-b'

<sup>35</sup> Nucius (*Musices poeticae*) describes *commissura directa* as "[...] a dissonance on the downbeat that is nonetheless admitted on account of the following consonance, which usually occurs in all formal cadences and in *syncopationes*" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 419). See also Peter Reichert, 'Musikalische Rhetorik', p. 164. Both the *commissura* and the *transitus irregularis* describe dissonances that occur on the beat and should only descend, while all the uneven parts of the bars (*in thesis*) must be consonant.

<sup>36</sup> According to Walther (*Musicalisches Lexicon*, Faksimile-Nachdruck, 1953, p. 60), "the *auxesis* occurs when a passage or a melody is repeated twice or three times, while at the same time, however, always rising higher", translated by Bartel, pp. 211-12. Burmeister, in his *Musica poetica*, had already referred to the *auxesis* in vocal music: "The *auxesis* occurs when the *harmonia* grows and increases with a single, twofold, threefold, or further repetition only of combined consonances [*noema*] using one and the same text" (*Musica poetica*, p. 61, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 211). It is the *auxesis* (*incrementum*) that creates the sense of incremental growth in this section, rather than the *climax* (*gradatio*) figure. For the aesthetic differences between the *auxesis* and the *climax*, see Bartel, pp. 209-10.

<sup>37</sup> According to Forkel (*Allgemeine Geschichte der Musik*, p. 57) "the *paronomasia* does not repeat a passage just as it already occurred but rather with new and powerful additions. These additions might apply either to single notes or can also be effected through a stronger or a weaker delivery" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 352). As Scheibe commented in his *Der kritische Musiker* (p. 691), "in any case, however, the repetition must strengthen the emphasis of the expression and must lend it a singular beauty" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 352).



flat) illustrates a *maniera* called *tirata mezza*.<sup>38</sup> The chorale line is dominated by the descending chromatic-moving figure in the bass (bars 14-15), known as *passus duriusculus*, which is taken up by the alto in the following bars 16-17 (*polyptoton*).<sup>39</sup> The *passus duriusculus* is further reinforced by the *parrhesia* figure, giving rise to dissonances known as *relationes non harmonicae*, in other words the false relations that occur between the voices in the diagonal position, illustrated by the minor sevenths and the augmented and diminished intervals in bars 14-16.<sup>40</sup> Regarding the theological symbolism of this particular figure, the *parrhesia* has been related to the depiction of human sin and corruption, and in this case it has been interpreted as a symbolism of the forbidden freedom (*licentia*) that Adam and Eve dared to take.<sup>41</sup> The *relationes non harmonicae* inherent in the *parrhesia* were described by Christoph Bernhard in the second chapter of his *Tractatus* (Of the General Rules of Counterpoint), in which he commented that “voices should not have false relations with one another, such as a tritone, a diminished fifth, an augmented octave, etc.”<sup>42</sup>




Example 4. False dissonances according to C. Bernhard (adopted from Hilse, p. 33)

After the end of the third line (bar 17), the bass again introduces the chorale melody, which is repeated by the soprano two bars later with rhythmical and

<sup>38</sup> Bartel, p. 409. The *tirata* is also used, more effectively, in the final chorale line (see pp. 143-44 of this chapter).

<sup>39</sup> The *polyptoton* is encountered only in Vogt's *Figurenlehre* and is used to describe the repetition of a passage at different pitches; see Bartel, pp. 367-69.

<sup>40</sup> The *parrhesia* (*licentia* in Latin) is described as a brief musical freedom, illustrating forbidden dissonances within the contrapuntal texture, such as tritones, augmented and diminished intervals, and cross relations that occur in such a way that they do not offend the listener. For the definition of the *parrhesia* with all references to Baroque treatises, see Bartel, pp. 352-56. The *parrhesia* is also illustrated by J. S. Bach in his treatment of the same melody *Durch Adams Fall* (BWV 637) in the *Orgelbüchlein*.

<sup>41</sup>  *Parrhesia* figure, as illustrated by J. C. Gottsched in his *Ausführliche Redekunst*, cited in Hugo Riemann, *Musik Lexikon: Sachteil*, ed. by Wilibald Gurlitt (Mainz: B. Schott's Söhne, 1967, p. 706): *parrhesia* “[...] wird meist zur Darstellung des Verderbten, Schwankenden, Widrigen und Sündhaften verwendet [...].”

<sup>42</sup> Bernhard, *Tractatus*, Chapter 2, §12, as it appears in Hilse, p. 33.

metrical alterations, transposed up a fifth (*polyptoton*). Just as in the previous phrase, the *passus duriusculus* appears once more in the bass spanning the interval of a minor sixth from bar 20 to bar 22 ('dass wir nicht konnten gnesen', 'from which we cannot be delivered'). The dramatic character of the section culminates in the *aposiopesis* figure,<sup>43</sup> described by the expressive rest in the cantus firmus before the cadence (bar 22).



Example 5. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 24-30)

From that point onwards (bars 23-24) until the fifth line, the bass, alto, and tenor fill in the harmony by illustrating the *antithesis* (*antitheton* or *contrapositum*), a figure in which the bass descends, while the tenor and alto ascend in stepwise progression. The ascending parallel thirds in the tenor and the alto also function as a *climax* (*gradatio*), "[...] a musical passage which ascends by step, and is often used in affections of divine love and yearning for the heavenly kingdom [...]",<sup>44</sup> influenced by the theological content of the next line, which emphasizes trust in God for man's salvation.

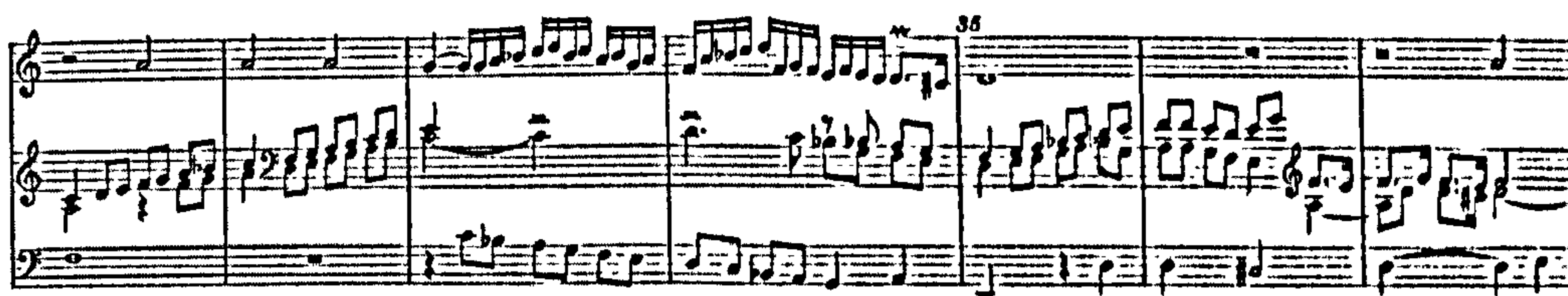
In the fifth line of the chorale ('ohn Gottes Trost, der uns erlöst'), the melody is first heard in the bass (bar 25) with the application of syncopations (*syncopatio*), while the soprano almost immediately takes up the melody in a more embellished form (*paronomasia*). As an *antithesis* to the preceding *climax*, the descending movement of the bass (bars 25-29) spanning the interval of a tenth (*catabasis*) - the soprano and alto descend by a fifth and sixth respectively - also illustrates a *hypotyposis* figure, as a depiction of the word 'Trost' (solace),

<sup>43</sup> According to Spiess (*Tractatus*, p. 155), "the *aposiopesis*, suppression, concealment, silence, occurs when either all voices are silenced through a general pause, or when a single voice stops and breaks off when it should actually continue to sing and progress into the appropriate cadence" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 206).

<sup>44</sup> Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, Book 8, p. 145, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 223. The same figure with the same function occurs also in the chorale prelude *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (BuxWV 178). Walther (*Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 172) summarizes the functions of the *climax* (*gradatio*) in the following definitions: "[...] a musical figure which occurs when two voices progress upwards and downwards by step in parallel thirds; [...] when a passage with or without a cadence is immediately repeated several times at progressively higher pitches [...]", translated by Bartel, p. 224.



emphasizing man's redemption through trust in God. The symbolism of the line is further depicted through the illustration of the word 'Gottes' (third beat of bar 26) with the *faux bourdon* or *catachresis* figure. This particular device employs two chords moving in parallel sixths and including the progression of a perfect to an augmented fourth between the alto and the tenor, a figure, which according to Werckmeister, was used to express sorrowful affections.<sup>45</sup>



Example 6. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 31-37)

In contrast to the descending movements that dominated all voices in the previous line, in the intermediate section (bars 30-31) the bass illustrates an *anabasis* figure that spans an octave, which is followed by similar progressions, first in the alto and then in the tenor (bars 31-32; *climax, gradatio*). After the introduction of the first four notes of the sixth line, the bass again introduces an *antitheton* figure through a *catabasis* - in contrast to the *climax* that just preceded - which now results in a *hypobole* (reaching the lowest possible range of the *modus*), as an interpretation of the allegory of the word 'Schaden' (disgrace). The soprano accompanies the descending bass with the most ornamented version of the cantus firmus up to that point, consisting of a combination of *tirata mezza* and *superjectio (accentus)* figures<sup>46</sup> that dominate for two bars (33-34) leading to the cadence in bar 35.

<sup>45</sup> Starting from Joachim Burmeister, the term *faux bourdon* is first encountered in his *figurae tam harmoniae quam melodiae* in order to signify a progression of successive sixths, a term also known as *simul procedentia*, meaning "simultaneous progressions" (Bartel, p. 272). Thuringus was the first to describe the musical phenomenon with the rhetorical term *catachresis (abusio)* in order to refer to harsh progressions of parallel fourths in the harmonic texture. J. G. Walther, in his *Lexicon* (p. 149), described *catachresis* or *abusio* as "[...] an abuse or incorrect use. This occurs when a dissonance is resolved in an unusual and harsh manner. The progression of numerous successive fourths which are made acceptable through the bass is also called a *catachresis*. According to the Pythagoreans, fourths are also considered perfect consonances and therefore are not permitted to immediately follow each other", translated by Bartel, p. 276.

<sup>46</sup> According to Christoph Bernhard (*Tractatus*, Chapter 22, §1), "*superjectio*, otherwise generally called *accentus*, occurs when a note is placed next to a consonance or dissonance, a step above. This happens most often when the notes should naturally fall a second", as it appears in Hilse, p. 92.



Example 7. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 38-43)

After the short intervening section, in which the tenor and alto continue with stepwise ascending progressions (*anabasis*), the seventh line begins in bar 37 ('darein die Schlang Eva bezwang'), in which the textual interpretation is depicted in the most elaborate way. The word 'Schlang' (snake), representing the serpent crawling in the Garden of Eden, is symbolized with a snaky movement of semiquavers in bar 39, beginning with a rapid scalar *tirata defectiva*.<sup>47</sup> Moreover, in bar 40 the name 'Eva' is emphasized by a *faux bourdon*/ *catachresis* figure on the first two beats, while the verb 'bezwang' (forced) goes back to the Biblical text (second half of bar 40), in which the arrogance of the false promise "and you will be like God"<sup>48</sup> is depicted through the excessive leap of a tenth in the bass, a figure described by the rhetorical *hyperbole*.<sup>49</sup>



Example 8. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 44-49)

Finally, the last line of the chorale prelude, preceded by simple figurations including examples of *figurae cortae*<sup>50</sup> in bar 42, presents another ornamented form of the cantus firmus. The closing line 'Gottes Zorn auf sich zu laden' ('to

<sup>47</sup> "There are four kinds of *tirata*: (1) the *tirata mezza* or *mezza tirata*, consisting at most of three or four sixteenth notes which span a fourth or fifth, including the following note; (2) the *tirata defectiva*, which [...] exceeds the fifth but does not reach an octave; (3) the *tirata perfecta*, which fulfills the octave completely, so that neither a note more nor a note less appears; and (4) the *tirata aucta* or *excedens*, which exceeds the range of an octave by a few notes" (Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 609, translated by Bartel, pp. 410-11).

<sup>48</sup> Genesis 3. 5; see Reichert, 'Musikalische Rhetorik', p. 165.

<sup>49</sup> "The *hyperbole* occurs when the words or oration exceed the truth for the sake of over- or understatement. According to Mancinellus, a transgression of the actual truth occurs through the *hyperbole*. It is also called *superlatio*, *dementiens superjectio*, *eminentia*, or *excessus*", in Susenbrotus, *Epitome*, p. 18, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 306.

<sup>50</sup> *Figura corta* describes a figure that consists of three successive notes, one of which equals the sum of the other two (Bartel, p. 234).



draw God's anger down upon herself') is a section determined by a *pathos*-laden figuration of the *affectus cholericus*<sup>51</sup> that depicts the ultimate human despair and "the darkness of damnation."<sup>52</sup> Both the beginning and the conclusion of the line are framed by *tirata* figures; the first one (*tirata mezza*, bar 43) illustrates the word 'Zorn' (anger), while the second one (*tirata aucta* or *excedens*, from g# in bar 48 to a" in bar 49) functioning as an elaboration of the final note, incorporates a more joyful meaning through its ascending movement, alluding to the salvation of man through Christ. The affective character of the last line is intensified particularly in bar 46, where man's hopelessness is expressed through an *exclamatio* in the discant, "[...] a veritable scream resulting from extreme dismay or astonishment because of horrifying or atrocious events frequently of the highest order of despair [...]."<sup>53</sup> The prelude concludes with an elaborate *maniera* (*tirata perfecta*, bar 49), which creates an exalted atmosphere in strong contradiction to the "imbued with sorrow"<sup>54</sup> character of the chorale.

The Phrygian chorale prelude *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (BuxWV 178),<sup>55</sup> based on a tune also associated with the words 'Herzlich thut mich verlangen', demonstrates another case in which musical-rhetorical figures combined with slow-moving polyphonic rhythm describe the affects of affliction and sorrow, to which Kircher referred as *affectus timoris et afflictionis*.<sup>56</sup> The first line of the chorale is announced in the first bar with the usual *vorimitation* technique (also encountered in *Durch Adams Fall*) in the alto (bars 1-2), while the tenor and the bass repeat the introductory motive in bars 2-3 and 4-5 (*polyptoton*).

<sup>51</sup> Reichert, 'Musikalische Rhetorik', p. 165.

<sup>52</sup> Apel, p. 622.

<sup>53</sup> Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 9, §67, p. 194; translation of the German text quoted here from Bartel, p. 269.

<sup>54</sup> Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, p. 269.

<sup>55</sup> Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder/ straf nicht in deinen Zorn/ dein ernsten Grimm doch linder/ sonst ists mit mir verlorn/ ach Herr, wollst mir vergeben/ mein Sünd und gnädig sein/ dass ich mag ewig leben/ entfliehn der höllen Pein; see Charles Sanford Terry, *The Four-Part Chorals of J. S. Bach: With the German Text of the Hymns and English Translations* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 167. For a literal English translation, see W. Gillies Whittaker, *The Cantatas of Johann Sebastian Bach: Sacred and Secular*, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), ii, pp. 121-22: Ah Lord, me poor sinner/ punish not in Thine anger/ Thy stern wrath but mitigate/ else is it with me lost/ Ah Lord, wilt me forgive/ my sin and gracious be/ that I may ever live/ escape from hell's torment.

<sup>56</sup> Reichert, p. 156. For a list of specific affects, as described by Athanasius Kircher in his *Musurgia universalis* (1650), see Chapter 1 of the present work, pp. 37-38.



Example 9. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 1-8)

What dominates in the first line is the sense of gravity, presented in the simple unadorned minim movement of the melody in bars 3-7. 'Poignant' harmonic events give rise to the *relationes non harmonicae* strengthened in bar 6 ('Sünder', sinner) by the false relations (diminished fifth and augmented fourth intervals) created between the *passus duriusculus* in the bass and the tenor.<sup>57</sup> The *passus duriusculus*, described by J. P. Kimberger as a figure suited for the arousal of lament and sorrow,<sup>58</sup> illustrates the *pathopoeia*, a "[...] figure in which the text is expressed through semitones in such fashion that no one appears to remain unmoved by the created affection."<sup>59</sup> The bass introduces a second *pathopoeia* in the following bar 7 (one would expect the sharpened quaver in the pedal to follow a natural one), in which the ascending chromatic line from the previous bar is interrupted by a *tnesis*, the depiction of man's separation from God as a result of his sins.



Example 10. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 9-16)

In contrast to the preceding gravity, the intermediate section (bars 8-9) demonstrates an intensification of the rhythm, commencing from bar 7 with the dotted crotchets in the bass and the tenor moving in parallel motion (*climax/gradatio*). The second line (bar 9) begins with a *tirata mezza* in the cantus firmus ('straf'), a depiction of "[...] a shot or spear throw [...]"<sup>60</sup> of God's wrath, leading in bar 10 to the augmented chord that emphasizes the plaintive content of the

<sup>57</sup> Reichert, pp. 156-57.

<sup>58</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 156-57.

<sup>59</sup> Burmeister, *Hypomnematum musicae poeticae*, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 361.

<sup>60</sup> Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 3, §43, p. 117, translated by Bartel, p. 411.



word 'nicht'. The *passus duriusculus* reappears in the bass and the alto (bar 11), while the line concludes with a striking *transitus irregularis/ symblema* (suspensions creating an augmented fourth and a minor seventh) on the accented beats of bar 12, showing again Buxtehude's emphasis on the vivid representation of the allegory of the text ('Zorn', rage).

After the end of the second line, the short intervening section illustrates an antithetical character.<sup>61</sup> The sense of the previous phrase ('Zorn') is carried forward in the next line through the first *syncopatio* in bar 13, while the tenor and the alto proceed in a *climax (gradatio)* figure, which culminates at the beginning of the next line.<sup>62</sup> The following phrase 'dein ernsten Grimm doch linder' is also determined by the application of striking dissonances that are undoubtedly related to the symbolism of the text. In contrast to the *climax*, the tenor and the alto progress in a downward motion in bar 14 (*catabasis*), while dissonances appearing in bar 16 ('Grimm doch') between the tenor and the alto are described by the *catachresis (abusio)* figure, in other words the irregular progression of fourths in orderly motion.<sup>63</sup> The *catachresis* is further reinforced by the *tirata mezza* in the tenor (bar 16), while in the word 'linder' (bar 17) Buxtehude supplied the most ornamented version of the cantus firmus up to that point, consisting of a *groppo*<sup>64</sup> and a *figura corta* figure.

The *faux bourdon* (bar 18), together with the *climax (gradatio)*, bar 19) illustrate the intervening section as an *antithesis* to the strong dissonances that dominated in the preceding line, while the following phrase 'sonst ists mit mir verlorn' demonstrates another case in which music is set according to the allegory of the text.

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<sup>61</sup> Reichert, p. 157.

<sup>62</sup> For the *affect* of the *climax (gradatio)* in relation to the theological text, see the reference to Kircher on p. 141 of this chapter (*Durch Adams Fall*).

<sup>63</sup> Although the original term *faux bourdon (catachresis)* is more commonly used to describe parallel fourths that occur within sixth-chord progressions, the progression of parallel fourths alone was also considered a forbidden freedom (*licentia*). Thuringus was the first to choose a Greek equivalent (*catachresis*) for the term *faux bourdon*, while its Latin counterpart (*abusio*) was consistently used to refer to the progression of parallel fourths in counterpoint. Adam Fulda, first in his *Musica* (1490), described this irregularity in contrapuntal composition with particular reference to parallel fourths, while Walther later in his definition of *catachresis* included, apart from parallel fourths, any other irregularities in harmony, including unusual resolutions of dissonances (Bartel, p. 273).

<sup>64</sup> Printz (*Phrynus Mytilenaeus*, Part 2, p. 48) described *groppo* as a figure that "[...] consists of four rapid notes which form a half-circle, the first and third being the same, the second and fourth having different positions. It can be either ascending or descending" (cited and translated by Bartel, p. 291).



Example 11. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 17-22)

The fourth phrase commences with an expressive *figura suspirans* in the cantus firmus, functioning also as a *hypotyposis* for the loss and the isolation implied by the text ('verlorn'). The plaintive character of the line is expressed in the *exclamatio* figure<sup>65</sup> (diminished fifth) in the discant (bars 21-22, 'mir'), intensified by dissonances in the accompanying voices, reminiscent of man's sinful character and God's rage (also described in the previous phrases).

The non-harmonic intervallic relations that dominate in almost all the chorale lines discussed so far can only be understood if one relates them to the theological symbolism of the numerical proportions, a notion that prevailed during the Baroque era. The proportional complexity of the musical intervals was considered a factor that determined the sounding effect and content of the *relationes non harmonicae*, which could not be expressed in simple mathematical proportions, and, as a result, were far away from the unison (proportion 1:1).<sup>66</sup> This approach was based on the cosmo-theological principle, according to which the closer an intervallic proportion was to the unison (therefore to the Creator), the more perfect the resulting harmony would be.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, dissonances in music were the result of proportions that strayed from the unison (i.e. God, the Creator), leading, therefore, to reprehensible and confused resolutions.

The contrast between dissonances and consonances is apparent in the chorale prelude under discussion, while their theological symbolism is understood when interpreted through the writings of the composer and theorist Andreas

<sup>65</sup> According to Marpurg (1754), joyful exclamations were expressed by upward leaps such as major thirds, perfect fourths or fifths, while sad exclamations could also be illustrated through downward leaps including minor thirds, perfect fourths, or perfect fifths. See Lena Jacobson, 'Musical Figures in BWV 131', *The Organ Yearbook*, 11 (1980), 60-83 (p. 79, footnote no. 22).

<sup>66</sup> Reichert, p. 159.

<sup>67</sup> Bartel, p. 14. See also Piet Kee, 'Number and Symbolism in the Passacaglia and the Ciacona: A Forgotten and Hidden Dimension', *Loosemore Occasional Papers*, 2 (Cambridge: The Tavistock Press Ltd, 1988). The same paper had already appeared in the *Het Orgel*, 82.5 & 6 (May & June 1986).



Werckmeister (1645-1706),<sup>68</sup> who brought into a balanced equilibrium the mathematical and theological components of the musical intervals. In his *Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse*, Werckmeister discussed the inexplicable force of the numerical proportions of musical intervals, and drew a parallel between dissonances that depart from the unison and, therefore, cannot lead to pleasant resolutions, and people who, due to their sins go astray from God and, as a result, cannot harmonize with Him.<sup>69</sup> Man's fall and sin, as discussed so far, are represented in both chorale preludes (*Durch Adams Fall* and *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*) through dissonances (successive fourths - *catachresis*), an illustration that contradicts the one in the fifth line 'ach Herr, wollst mir vergeben mein Sünd und gnädig sein'. This particular phrase is dominated by the *trias harmonica perfecta*, which was considered God's reflection, and to which Werckmeister referred as follows:

If we go even further, we will see that God Almighty not only created everything harmonically, but ordered the children of men to make everything according to the rules of harmony. [...] For instance, Noah's ark was 300 cubits long, 50 cubits wide and 30 cubits high. When one applies these proportions on the monochord, the harmonic triad, C-g-e, will be found. In the same way, the Ark of the Covenant, the Seat of Mercy, [...], the Tabernacle, the Temple of Solomon, and all the other edifices were built by order of God, according to the musical proportions.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>68</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Werckmeister, Andreas', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxvii, pp. 286-87.

<sup>69</sup> Andreas Werckmeister, *Musicalische Paradoxal-Discourse* (Quedlinburg, 1707); repr. in *Hypomnemata musica und andere Schriften* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), p. 29: "[...] denn wie alle Zahlen so der Unitat gar nahe sind / eine Harmoniam mit derselben machen / also können alle Menschen / wenn sie ihr Gemüth von Gott nicht entfernen / mit ihm harmoniren: Und gleich wie die Disonantien in der Musica, wenn sie gar zu weit / und gräulich sich von ihrer Unitat abwenden zu keiner angenehmen Resolution können gebracht werden / also können die gar zu weit von Gott entfernete Sünder / wenn sie verstockt / und sich nicht wieder zu Gott wenden / mit Gott nimmer vereiniget werden" (cited in Reichert, p. 159).

<sup>70</sup> *ibid.*, p. 28: "Wenn wir nun weiter gehen / so sehen wir dass der grosse Gott nicht allein alles harmonisch geschaffen / sondern er hat auch nach dem / alles harmonisch zu bauen / dennen Menschen Kindern befohlen [...]. Zum Exempel: Die Kast Noae war 300. Ellen lang / 50. breit und 30. hoch. Wenn man diese [Masse] auf das Monochordum appliciret / so befindet man Triadem harmonicam, C g e. Also waren die Lade des Bundes / der Gnadenstuhl / [...] / die Hütte des Stiffts / der Tempel Salomonis / und alle Gebäude harmonisch / nach den Musicalischen Proportionibus, aus Gottes Befehl gebauet", cited in Reichert, pp. 159-60, translated by the author. For the relevant Biblical text, see Genesis 6. 15. Although these aspects might sound like superstitions to modern ears, it was not the same for the period under discussion. Werckmeister's writings were certainly familiar to Buxtehude, while the existence of the famous astronomical clock in the St Marienkirche in Lübeck makes it possible that mathematical and cosmical features influenced Buxtehude's compositions in many cases (e.g. the seven keyboard suites depicting the features of the seven planets). Moreover, for the influence of Werckmeister's theological ideas on

The C major tonic triad dominates the following section that describes God's will, with stronger emphasis on the first beat of bar 28, in which the first inversion and root position chords of C major emphasize God's mercy and forgiveness ('vergeben').



Example 12. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 23-30)

The *trias harmonica perfecta* is depicted in other chorale preludes as well, in which the text refers to God's intervention. Particular instances are illustrated in the already discussed *Durch Adams Fall* at the beginning of the fifth phrase ('ohn Gottes Trost, der uns erlöst', bars 25-29), as well as at the beginning of the second line of the chorale prelude *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (bar 8, 'von Gnad und lauter Güte', 'through grace and pure goodness').



Example 13. BuxWV 183: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 24-30)



Example 14. BuxWV 186: *Es ist das Heil uns kommen her* (bars 1-13)

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hermeneutics and allegory of musical materials including triads, consonances, dissonances, and time signatures, see Eric Chafe, 'Allegorical Music: The "Symbolism" of Tonal Language in the Bach Canons', *The Journal of Musicology*, 3.4 (Autumn 1984), 340-62.



Returning to the chorale prelude under discussion, the fifth line concludes with a cadence on the C major triad, while in the next one ('dass ich mag ewig leben'), Buxtehude proceeds to the depiction of the plaintive character of the chorale through the expressive figures already encountered in the preceding phrases.



Example 15. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 31-37)

The sixth line commences with a *polyptoton* in bar 34 ('ich mag'), in which the alto and the soprano imitate the bass and tenor statements of the preceding section (bar 32). The *pathos*-laden significance of the *passus duriusculus* in bars 32 and 34 stresses the exegetical content of the phrase 'ich mag' (i.e. the desire for eternal life implied by the text), a sense that is heightened by the *extensio* figure in d" in the soprano in bars 34-35.<sup>71</sup> As a result of the *extensio*, the soprano proceeds with a syncopated accent ('ewig'), intensified in the alto and the bass (bar 35), as well as in the soprano in the next bar by the *circulatio*,<sup>72</sup> a figure illustrating "[...] not only circular concepts but also the eternal, infinite, and complete, ultimately symbolizing God."<sup>73</sup> The affective representation of eternity is also heightened by a second *passus duriusculus* in the bass (bar 36) functioning this time as a *pathopoeia*, an allegory of the plea to God for eternal life.<sup>74</sup> The contradiction between the earthly and the eternal life is also illustrated through the antithetical movement between manuals and pedal, stressed by the *parembole*

<sup>71</sup> With his emphasis on the figures of dissonance, Christoph Bernhard, in his *Tractatus compositionis augmentatus* (1650) described the *extensio* as a prolongation or an extension of a dissonance. The *extensio* would usually result in a rhythmic irregularity on the following strong beat of the harmony, which is exactly what Buxtehude achieves in the phrase under discussion. For the *extensio*, see Bartel, pp. 269-71.

<sup>72</sup> Reichert, p. 161. The *circulatio* (*circulo*, *kyklosis*, *circulo mezzo*) was described as a short motive consisting either of four or eight notes, always returning to the beginning note. According to Printz (*Phrynus Mytilenaeus*, Part 2, p. 49), "the *circulo mezzo* forms a half-circle in musical notation, and consists of four rapid notes moving by step, in which the second and fourth notes are on the same pitch while the first and third notes have different pitches. It is either *intendens*, beginning with ascending notes, or *remittens*, beginning with descending notes", cited and translated by Bartel, p. 218. For a complete discussion of the *circulatio*, see Warren Kirkendale, 'Circulatio-Tradition, *Maria Lactans*, and Josquin as Musical Orator', *Acta Musicologica*, 56 (1984), 69-92.

<sup>73</sup> Bartel, p. 216.

<sup>74</sup> Reichert, p. 161.

(*interjectio*) figure, which fills in the structure through the addition of a supplementary voice that proceeds parallel to the other voices in the middle of bar 37.<sup>75</sup>



Example 16. BuxWV 178: *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder* (bars 38-44)

The final phrase 'entfliehn der höllen Pein' ('escape the deadly pain') is introduced with an *anabasis* in the pedal (bar 38), which demonstrates the sense of escaping (running) through the *fuga* figure, a symbol that "[...] refers to a musical passage which is employed when the words indicate a flight, thereby illustrating their content in as like manner as possible."<sup>76</sup> As a depiction of the running character of the text, the bass repeats an *anabasis* in bar 40, while the ornamented cantus firmus of bar 39 is also imitated by the pedal (*polyptoton*, bar 41). The *extensio* in the alto (bar 41) and the unexpected seventh chord that supports the last note of the phrase illustrate the plaintive character of the text ('höllen Pein'),<sup>77</sup> while the prelude concludes with a *congeries* (*synathroismos*) in the penultimate bar, in other words the accumulation of alternating root position and second inversion triads.<sup>78</sup>

Figures of melodic repetition, melodic ornaments, and rhythmical motives related to the depiction of the joyful and jubilant character of the Biblical text are also encountered in Buxtehude's expressive chorale preludes, among which the chorale prelude *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (BuxWV 182) demonstrates some fine examples.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>75</sup> Reichert, p. 161. The *parembole* is only mentioned by Burmeister with regard to fugal structure and is enlisted among his *figurae melodiae*: "Parembole occurs when at the beginning of the piece two or more voices carry on the subject of the fugue, and another voice is mingled that proceeds alongside them without contributing anything pertinent to the nature or process of fugue. It merely fills vacant spaces in the consonances while those other voices carry on the fugue" (*Musical Poetics*, by Joachim Burmeister, trans. by Benito Rivera, pp. 177-79).

<sup>76</sup> Reichert, p. 162. Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 267, translated by Bartel, p. 289.

<sup>77</sup> Apel, p. 103.

<sup>78</sup> Bartel, p. 230.

<sup>79</sup> *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich/ aller Creature/ denn Gottes Sohn vom Himmelreich/ über die Nature/ von einer Jungfrau ist geboren/ Maria, du bist auserkorn/ dass du Mutter wärest/ Was geschah so wundergleich?/ Gottes Sohn vom Himmelreich/ der ist Mensch geboren.* English





Example 17. BuxWV 182: *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (bars 1-11)

In contrast to the previous chorale prelude (*Ach Herr*), where the character of the piece was determined by the slow-moving minims of the cantus firmus, this chorale displays a joyful content ('so freudenreich', 'so full of joy') through the application of driving quavers in the melody and in the accompanying voices. The *figurae cortae* (bars 3-4) intensify the melodic motion, while the *auxesis/incrementum* (bars 9-10) in the pedal contributes to the portrayal of the exultant character of the text.



Example 18. BuxWV 182: *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (bars 12-16)

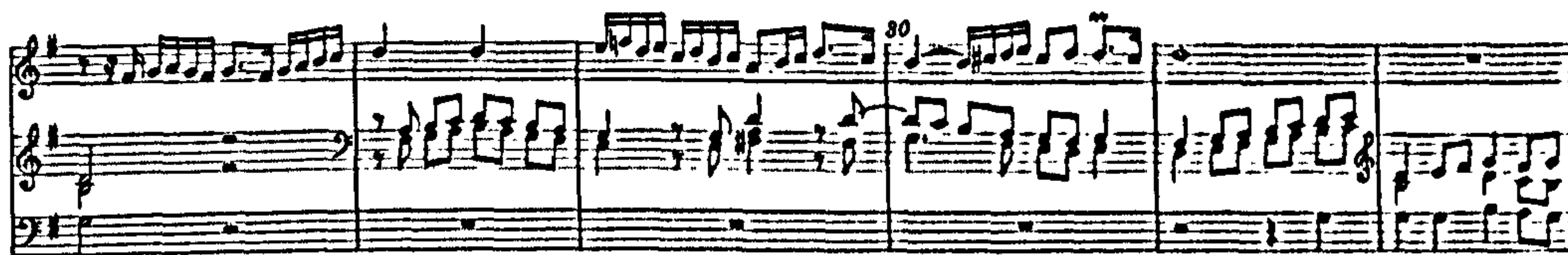
The second phrase ('denn Gottes Sohn von Himmelreich', 'because God's Son from Heaven') demonstrates an amply ornamented version of the cantus firmus, in which groups of repetitions in the soprano voice serve as depictions of the symbolism of the text. The first small group (third and fourth beats of bar 13) is immediately repeated into the following bar emphasizing God's presence - *anaphora* - (the *trias harmonica perfecta* appears on the first beat of bar 14 as a symbolism of God), while the second melodic group (the third and fourth beats of bar 14) is heard three times in ascending sequence (*auxesis/incrementum*). The

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translation: This is the day so full of joy/ for all creatures/ because God's Son from Heaven/ transcending nature/ is born of a Virgin/ Mary you are chosen/ to be the mother/ was anything so miraculous?/ God's Son from Heaven/ he is born man. See Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 248-49.

figure culminates in g" in the soprano (bar 16), - a *hypotyposis* figure as an illustration of the heavenly Kingdom - which is accompanied by the ascending movement of the bass (bars 14-15 and 15-16).

Particular figures in the following phrases also stand for the allegorical meaning of the Biblical text. The *climax/ gradatio*, a symbol often alluding to divine affections, is amply demonstrated in bars 28 and 31-32 ('von einer Jungfrau ist geborn', 'is born of a Virgin'), further stressed by the *accentus* (*superjectio*, bar 29), a figure usually reflecting exclamations of triumph.<sup>80</sup> Finally, the joyful message of Christ's birth is emphasized in bars 44-48 ('was geschah so wundergleich', 'was anything so miraculous') through the elaborate movement of the pedal (*catabasis*) spanning consecutive intervals of *salti simplici* (octave leaps).



Example 19. BuxWV 182: *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (bars 27-32)



Example 20. BuxWV 182: *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (bars 44-49)

The two closing lines of the piece demonstrate two significant musical-rhetorical figures, each illustrating the text in a particular way. The *hypobaton*,<sup>81</sup> the "‘underpassing’ (*hypobatus, infragradiens*) of one voice in relation to another"<sup>82</sup> occurs in bars 51-53 ('Gottes Sohn vom Himmelreich'), with the soprano voice being transferred below the alto range, a figure Scheibe described as "[...] exceptionally appropriate for a clear and emphatic expression of the words as well as for the arousal of the affections."<sup>83</sup> The next figure is illustrated

<sup>80</sup> Vincent Benitez, 'Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', p. 9.

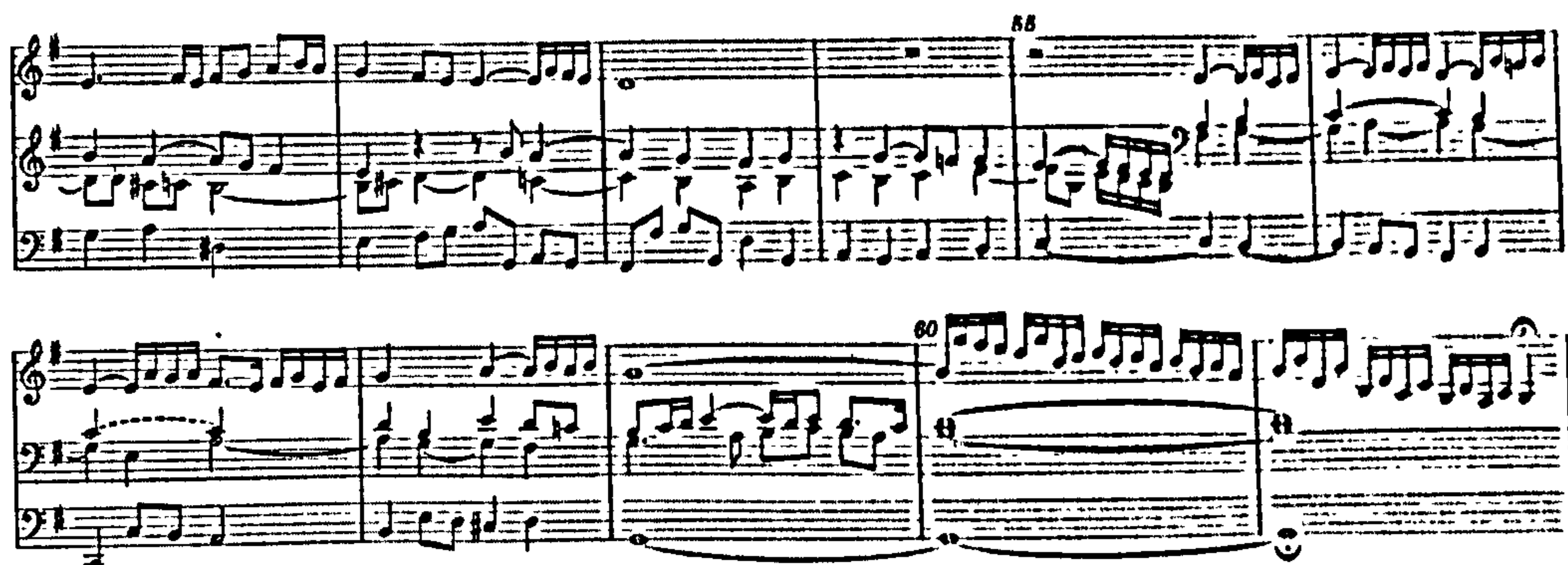
<sup>81</sup> Reichert, p. 154.

<sup>82</sup> Bartel, p. 301.

<sup>83</sup> Scheibe, *Der kritische Musikus*, p. 688, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 303. In verbal rhetoric, Gottsched had described the *hyperbaton/ hypobaton* as the transference of words, phrases, or thoughts from their natural position to another, as a result of the content (affection) of the speech



in the two closing bars of the final line 'der ist Mensch geboren'. The joyful message of Christ's birth receives an ecstatic character in which the cantus firmus (soprano) exceeds its boundaries, illustrating a figure described by Burmeister as *hypobole*, namely the "[...] understepping of the *melodia* under the lowest *terminum* of the *ambitus* [...]"<sup>84</sup>



Example 21. BuxWV 182: *Der Tag, der ist so freudenreich* (bars 51-61)

The organ chorale music of J. S. Bach is the culmination of the synthesis of different styles and genres of the Lutheran chorale tradition established in central and north Germany through the compositions of Dieterich Buxtehude and his predecessors. Chorale compositions constitute more than half of Bach's organ works, and they are usually classified into short or long forms according to the complete or incomplete presentation of the cantus firmus, the presence or absence of interludes between the chorale phrases, and finally the illustration of one or more verses of the chorale melody.<sup>85</sup> A collection that has received the lion's share of attention among scholars is the *Orgelbüchlein* (BWV 599-644), a collection of forty-five chorale preludes<sup>86</sup> Bach was engaged in while in the service of Duke Wilhelm Ernst at Weimar (between 1713 and 1716), but left

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that obstructed the consideration of proper word order by the poet. The figure is first encountered in Scheibe's *musikalische Figurenlehre*, who identified it as "[...] when either a note or an entire thought is transferred from its natural position to a different one. In the first case it agrees with the harmonic exchange, namely when a note which belongs in a higher voice is set in a lower one, or when a note which belongs in a lower voice is set in a higher one [...]" (*Der critische Musikus*, p. 688, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 302).

<sup>84</sup> Burmeister, *Musica poetica*, p. 64, cited and translated by Bartel, p. 307.

<sup>85</sup> Marshall and Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', p. 759.

<sup>86</sup> The collection actually contains forty-six chorale preludes and a fragment of a forty-seventh; *Liebster Jesu, wir sind hier* (BWV 633 and 634) appears in two versions, while Bach also supplied sketches for *O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid*.

unfinished when he moved to Cöthen in 1717 (the title-page of the autograph was actually signed by Bach while at Cöthen).<sup>87</sup>

Comparing the handwriting styles that appear in the *Orgelbüchlein* with other surviving dated examples of Bach's handwriting, Heinz-Harald Löhlein suggested three compositional stages for the *Orgelbüchlein*: from Advent 1713 to Pentecost 1714 (stage one), from Advent 1714 to Easter 1715 (stage two), and finally from Christmas 1715 to Passiontide 1716. The latest entries date from the composer's time in Leipzig (1740), when Bach added the fragment *O Traurigkeit, o Herzeleid* and the chorale prelude *Helf mir Gotts Güte preisen* (BWV 613), and revised a small number of other preludes (BWV 620 and 631).<sup>88</sup> The only serious objections to Löhlein's suggested chronologies were raised by Christoph Wolff, who insisted that, since Bach's manuscript style does not imply any precise composition dates, the compilation of the *Orgelbüchlein* could be traced back to the composer's early years in Weimar (1708-1709).<sup>89</sup> According to Wolff, the earliest entries date from the Advent-Christmas season of 1708-1709<sup>90</sup> after Bach had taken up his post in Weimar in the summer of 1708, while the major part of the work was probably completed before 1714, a view that reduces the gap between the *Orgelbüchlein* and Bach's early organ chorales.<sup>91</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Walter Emery and Christoph Wolff, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ii, pp. 309-82 (pp. 318 and 340). For an earlier version of the same article, see Walter Emery, Christoph Wolff, and Nicholas Temperley, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', in *The New Grove Bach Family*, ed. by Stanley Sadie, The Composer Biography Series (London: Macmillan, 1983), pp. 44-250.

<sup>88</sup> Russell Stinson, *The Orgelbüchlein*, ed. by George B. Stauffer, Monuments of Western Music Series (New York: Schirmer, 1996), pp. 12-13. See also J. S. Bach. *Orgelwerke* Vol. 5: *Präludien und Fugen, Pastorale*. Ewald Kooiman. Coronata 1613.

<sup>89</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Chronology and Style in the Early Works: A Background for the *Orgelbüchlein*', in his *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 297-305 (p. 299), and the postscript to the same article/ essay on pages 426-27; originally published as 'Zur Problematik der Chronologie und Stilentwicklung des Bachschen Frühwerkes, insbesondere zur musikalischen Vorgeschichte des *Orgelbüchleins*', in *Bericht über die wissenschaftliche Konferenz zum V. internationalen Bachfest der DDR in Verbindung mit dem 60. Bachfest der neuen Bachgesellschaft*, ed. by Winfried Hoffmann and Armin Schneiderheinze (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik, 1988), pp. 449-55.

<sup>90</sup> Wolff, 'Chronology and Style in the Early Works', p. 299.

<sup>91</sup> *ibid.*, p. 427. See Christoph Wolff, 'Bach's Organ Music: Studies and Discoveries', in *The Musical Times*, 126 (March 1985, 'Bach Tercentenary Issue'), 149-52, where Wolff discusses the connection between the *Orgelbüchlein* chorale preludes and the recently (1985) discovered chorales from the Neumeister collection (Yale University Manuscript LM 4708), since BWV 601 and 639 from the *Orgelbüchlein* appear first in the LM 4708 manuscript; also Christoph Wolff, 'The Neumeister Collection of Chorale Preludes from the Bach Circle', in his *Bach: Essays on his Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), pp. 107-27 (pp. 117-21). The same view according to which these two preludes date from the Arnstadt period is supported by Wolff in his *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician* (Oxford: Oxford University Press,



The autograph manuscript preserved in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin shows that the surviving music constitutes just a fragment of Bach's initial project that was planned to cover the entire liturgical year following the layout of traditional hymnbooks of his time. Bach originally entered one hundred and sixty-four chorale titles at the top of blank pages; sixty of them were designated for the church seasons (*de tempore*), while the remaining one hundred and four (*omne tempore*) were intended for any church occasion or festival (the Lord's Prayer and Penitence are among them).<sup>92</sup> Notwithstanding the aims of the initial project, Bach abandoned work on the *Orgelbüchlein* after having completed forty-five chorale arrangements, four of which were composed for Advent, ten for Christmas and three for New Year, seven for Passiontide and six for Easter, while the remaining fifteen were intended for other church occasions. Under the influence of traditional Lutheran hymnody,<sup>93</sup> Bach included in his original plan approximately thirty chorales ascribed to Luther himself, while over half of the chorales set for the collection date from the Reformation era.<sup>94</sup>

The *Orgelbüchlein* forms part of Bach's organ repertoire composed while in Weimar, which aimed to furnish the organist at the court chapel with chorale arrangements that functioned as preludes, interludes, or accompaniments of congregational hymns.<sup>95</sup> Moreover, it constitutes a didactic tool, since in the preface to the collection Bach outlined his objectives, which embodied a systematic approach to chorale composition through an artful combination of pedal and contrapuntal techniques with affective musical-rhetorical language.<sup>96</sup> The introduction to the *Orgelbüchlein* reads as follows:

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2002), p. 94. See also the preface to *Johann Sebastian Bach: Organ Chorales from the Neumeister Collection* (Yale University Manuscript LM 4708), ed. by Christoph Wolff (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985). Also Werner Breig, 'Textbezug und Werkidee in Johann Sebastian Bachs frühen Orgelchorälen', in *Musikkulturgeschichte: Festschrift für Constantin Floros zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Peter Petersen (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp. 167-182.

<sup>92</sup> Stinson, *The Orgelbüchlein*, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Robin A. Leaver, 'Bach and Hymnody: The Evidence of the "Orgelbuchlein"', *Early Music*, 13.2 (Bach Tercentenary Issue, May 1985), 227-36 (p. 228).

<sup>94</sup> Stinson, p. 10.

<sup>95</sup> *ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>96</sup> Emery and Wolff, 'Johann Sebastian Bach', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, p. 340.

Little Organ Book, in which guidance is given to an inquiring organist in how to implement a chorale in all kinds of ways, and at the same time to become practised in the study of pedalling, since in the chorales found therein the pedal is treated completely *obbligato*.<sup>97</sup>

The so-called *Orgelbüchlein*-type of chorale prelude is a short composition usually between ten and twenty bars long, with the chorale melody in its original rhythmic and melodic shape set against a contrapuntal accompaniment, whose motivic material is, in many cases, determined by the symbolism and the allegory of the theological text.<sup>98</sup> Three types of chorale prelude are illustrated in the collection.<sup>99</sup> The first (and the one most frequently encountered) is the melody chorale, in which the chorale tune appears in the soprano, usually in an unadorned version, without the intervention of any interludes between the phrases.<sup>100</sup> Moreover, the melody is presented in the same rhythmic design as would occur in congregational singing, while of the four contrapuntal parts, the inner two illustrate unified motivic material usually with points of imitation. Finally, with the addition of an *obbligato* rather than an *ad libitum* pedal, Bach increases the harmonic diversity, since the pedal is sometimes assigned the same figurations as the inner voices, and sometimes demonstrates individual motives.<sup>101</sup>

The influence of Buxtehude's expressive chorale preludes on Bach's compositional process is most prominent in the ornamental chorales, a group represented by three pieces in the *Orgelbüchlein* (*Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, *O Mensch, beweine deine Sünde gross*, and *Wenn wir in höchsten Nöten sein*). In these works the cantus firmus appears in the soprano just as in the melody chorales but, under the north German influence, in a highly embellished form. On the other hand, and in contrast to Buxtehude's chorale preludes that featured extended interludes between the chorale phrases, the embellished chorale preludes of the *Orgelbüchlein* are the first instances of ornamental settings with no interludes

<sup>97</sup> Translated by Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 227.

<sup>98</sup> Marshall and Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', p. 759.

<sup>99</sup> Stinson, pp. 18-19. Since the discussion of musical-rhetorical figures that will follow in the next pages will focus on specific examples drawn from chorale preludes from each category, a summary of the different styles encountered in the *Orgelbüchlein* was considered indispensable.

<sup>100</sup> Herman Keller, *The Organ Works of J. S. Bach: A Contribution to their History, Form, Interpretation and Performance*, trans. by Helen Hewitt (New York: C. F. Peters, 1967), pp. 197-98; originally published as *Die Orgelwerke Bachs: Ein Beitrag zu ihrer Geschichte, Form, Deutung und Wiedergabe* (Leipzig: Edition Peters, 1948). The only exception is the chorale prelude *Christum wir sollen loben schon* (BWV 611) in which the cantus firmus appears in the alto.

<sup>101</sup> Stinson, pp. 62-70.



between the phrases.<sup>102</sup> However, Bach calls for the use of two manuals for all three ornamental chorale settings of the collection, following the northern tradition established by Buxtehude that favoured the presentation of the ornamented chorale tune on the *Rückpositiv* (i.e. the manual division behind the organist and close to the congregation).<sup>103</sup>

Finally, nine chorale preludes of the *Orgelbüchlein* are set in canonic form (chorale canon), in which two voices carry the cantus firmus canonically within a thick contrapuntal texture, either at the interval of the fifth (*O Lamm, Gottes unschuldig*, BWV 618) or at the octave (*Gott, durch deine Güte*, BWV 601). Just as in the ornamental chorales, Bach specifies the use of two manuals in this case in order to let the chorale melody stand out clearly, while the canonic treatment of four out of the seven Passion chorales has been explained as being determined by the allegory and the theological symbolism of the chorale text.<sup>104</sup>

As a Lutheran church musician, Bach was acquainted with the chorale texts when he was setting his music, and the *Orgelbüchlein* stands as a unique collection where the text, although silent, is implied by the cantus firmus with its exegetical context being furnished by the counter-voices.<sup>105</sup> During his years in Weimar, Bach was undoubtedly acquainted with Walther's *Praecepta der musicalischen Composition* and *Musicalisches Lexicon*, while his mastery as a musical orator was described by Johann Abraham Birnbaum, Professor of Rhetoric at Leipzig University:

The parts and advantages, which the elaboration of a musical piece has in common with rhetoric, he [Bach] knows so perfectly, that one doesn't listen to him only with satisfying pleasure, when he directs his thorough discourses to the similarity and conformity of both; but one admires also the skillful application of the same in his works. His understanding of poetry is as good, as one can expect from a great composer.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Stinson, pp. 70-72.

<sup>103</sup> *ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>104</sup> James C. Moeser, 'Symbolism in J. S. Bach's *Orgelbuechlein*', *The American Organist*, 48.3 (March 1965), 16-22.

<sup>105</sup> Marshall and Leaver, 'Chorale Settings', p. 759.

<sup>106</sup> Birnbaum's defence on J. S. Bach against Johann Adolph Scheibe's criticism, as it appears in *Der critische Musikus*, p. 997, translated by Vincent Benitez, 'Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', p. 5.

Albert Schweitzer described the *Orgelbüchlein* as “[...] the lexicon of Bach’s musical speech”, in which “the characteristic motives of the various chorales correspond to many of Bach’s later emotional and pictorial tone-symbols.”<sup>107</sup> Bach’s method of portraying the deep relationship between text and music falls into line with the principle that dominated throughout the Baroque era, according to which composers tended to depict the textual significance in vocal music, a notion that soon permeated the area of instrumental composition.<sup>108</sup> In 1746, Bach’s student in Weimar Johann Gotthilf Ziegler (1686-1747) reported that he was instructed by his teacher “[...] Capellmeister Bach, who is still living, not to play the songs [chorales] merely offhand but according to the sense [*Affect*] of the words.”<sup>109</sup> Bach’s expressive representation of the symbolism of the text is apparent in the *Orgelbüchlein*, in which the chorale preludes depict the allegorical content of the hidden words through the attentive application of the most affective musical-rhetorical figures.<sup>110</sup>

One of the most striking melody chorales, and perhaps the setting in which Bach portrays the hidden text most clearly, is *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (BWV 637). This prelude is dominated by an abundance of expressive chromatic ideas, namely the *passus* and *saltus duriusculus* figures, which Spitta was the first to interpret as depictions of Adam’s fall from grace, and as allegories of grief and human corruption.<sup>111</sup> Chromatically altered melodic lines are also encountered in Bach’s vocal music, as, for instance, in the following aria from the St Matthew Passion, where the *saltus duriusculus* reflects the *pathos*-laden significance of the text (penance and remorse).

<sup>107</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, trans. by Ernest Newman, 2 vols (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1923), i, p. 284; originally published as *Jean-Sébastien Bach, le musicien-poète* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1905).

<sup>108</sup> Stinson, pp. 37-38.

<sup>109</sup> *The New Bach Reader*, rev. edn, p. 336.

<sup>110</sup> For further readings on symbolism and pictorial representation in Bach’s choral music, see Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, Chapters 21 and 22, pp. 25-74; moreover, Arnold Schering, ‘Bach und das Symbol’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 22 (1925), 40-63; 25 (1928), 119-37; 34 (1937), 83-95; also Hans Luedtke, ‘Zur Entstehung des Orgelbüchleins (1717)’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 16 (1919), 62-66; idem, ‘Seb. Bachs Choralvorspiele’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 15 (1918), 1-96; Dietrich Fritz, ‘J. S. Bachs Orgelchoral und seine geschichtlichen Wurzeln’, *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 26 (1929), 1-89.

<sup>111</sup> According to Spitta (*Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*, i, pp. 602-03), “‘Through Adam’s fall the human race has lost its grace by nature’ is the first line of a hymn on the atonement; and the pedal indicates the fall of man by an episode in leaps of sevenths. Let us not blame this as being a mere trivial illustration of the first line, for the image it contains of a fall from a condition of innocence to the state of sin governs the whole poem; it was only such images as these that Bach was ever wont to set in music.”



29  
Buß und Reu,      Buß und Reu,      knirscht das Sün-den-herz ent-  
two and rue,      two and rue,      tear— my sin-ful heart in

36  
zwei,      knirscht das Sün-den-herz ent - zwei,      Buß und Reu,  
two,      tear— my sin-ful heart in      two,      two and rue,

Example 22. Aria (Alto 1): *Matthäus-Passion*, No. 6 (bars 29-42)<sup>112</sup>

In contrast to Buxtehude's treatment of the same melody, where Adam's fall was illustrated through leaps of perfect fifths in the first five bars, Bach is more persistent in applying leaps of descending diminished sevenths throughout the prelude (*anaphora, repetitio*). The *salti duriusculi*, most prominent in the pedal, are reinforced by the expressive *imeses* (rests *suspirantis animae*)<sup>113</sup> that function as an illustration of man's separation from God. Apart from the chromatic leaps in the pedal, the false relations between the lower voices graphically represent the corrupting effect of Adam's fall, while the *passus duriusculus* in the alto (bar 1, f sharp and f natural), illustrating the dualism between major and minor through a *figura corta*, has also been described as a metaphor for moral corruption.<sup>114</sup>

Example 23. BWV 637: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 1-3)<sup>115</sup>

The symbolism of the theological text is mostly depicted in the penultimate line of the prelude (bars 9-10, 'darein die Schlang Eva bezwang'), in which the snaky chromatic motive apparent in the tenor has been interpreted as a depiction of the serpent writhing in the grass of Eden.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>112</sup> J. S. Bach, *Matthäus-Passion* (BWV 244), Vocal Score Based on the Urtext of the New Bach Edition by Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1974).

<sup>113</sup> For the affective implications of the *imesis*, see the discussion of Buxtehude's chorale prelude *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* on page 138 of this chapter.

<sup>114</sup> Stinson, p. 97.

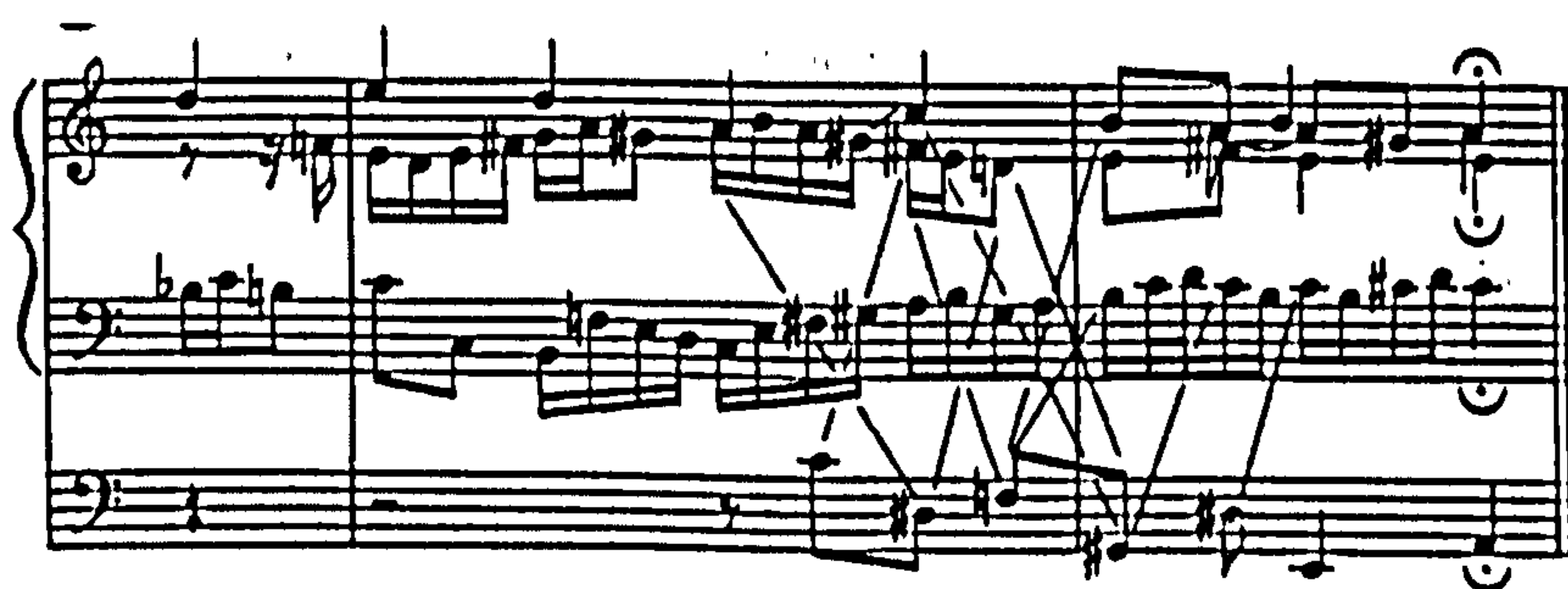
<sup>115</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the cited examples and the bar numbers mentioned follow the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* of Bach's complete organ works. See Johann Sebastian Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Heinz-Harald Löhle, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 1: Little Organ Book, Six Chorales "von verschiedener Art" ("Schübler-Chorales"), Chorale-Partitas (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1984).

<sup>116</sup> Luedtke, 'Seb. Bachs Choralvorspiele', p. 60.



Example 24. BWV 637: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 9-10)

The chromaticism is further reinforced by the *parrhesia* figure at the end of the prelude (bars 11-12), giving rise to the false relations (tritones, augmented and diminished intervals) that occur in the diagonal position between the voices (see example 25). This unorthodox contrapuntal language (*relationes non harmonicae*), also encountered in Buxtehude's treatment of the same chorale melody, intensifies the negative *Affekt* of the piece, where forbidden freedoms (*licentiae*) ignore all rules of regular part-writing, symbolizing the breaking of moral rules and "[...] the depravity of the human race."<sup>117</sup> Finally, the strong contrast created between the rising figure in the tenor part that leads to a final major cadence and the diminished sevenths in the pedal illustrates the *antitheton* figure, an interpretation of the *antithesis* between man's original sin and the trust in Christ.<sup>118</sup>



Example 25. BWV 637: *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* (bars 10-12)<sup>119</sup>

The chorale prelude *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* (BWV 614), one of the three ornamental chorales of the *Orgelbüchlein*, demonstrates an abundant use of the *passus duriusculus* (usually known as chromatic fourth), the chromatic figure that in this particular piece has raised serious objections regarding its connection

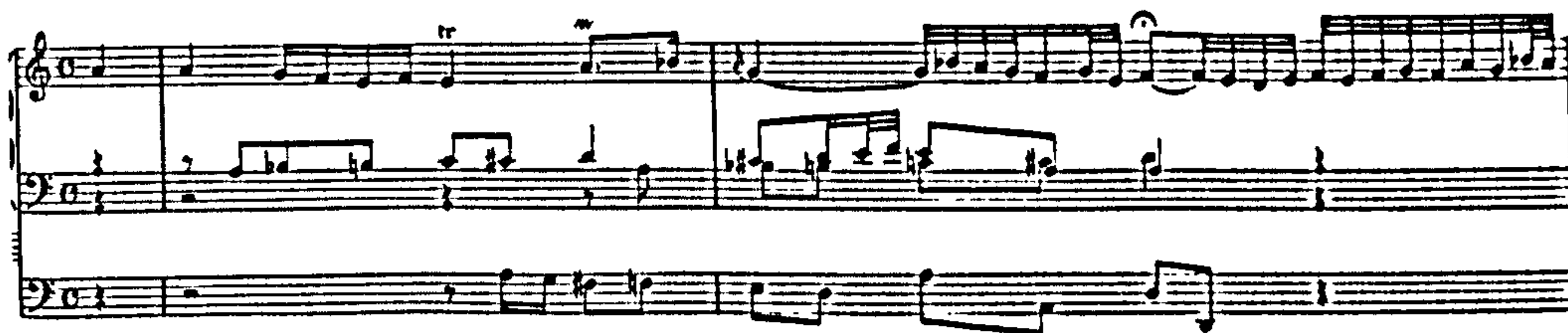
<sup>117</sup> Stinson, p. 98. See also Wolfgang Budday, 'Musikalische Figuren als satztechnische Freiheiten in Bachs Orgelchoral "Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt"', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 63 (1977), 139-59.

<sup>118</sup> Vincent Benitez, 'Musical-Rhetorical Figures in the *Orgelbüchlein* of J. S. Bach', p. 10.

<sup>119</sup> Adopted from Budday 'Musikalische Figuren als satztechnische Freiheiten', p. 153.



with the affects of grief and sorrow.<sup>120</sup> The first verse of the hymn (attributed to Johann Steurlein, 1588), a prayer of thanksgiving to Jesus for the old year and a supplication for His protection in the coming one, does not, indeed, refer to anything melancholy.<sup>121</sup> However, sorrowful subjects are implied in the following stanzas, particularly the fourth and the fifth,<sup>122</sup> leading to the conclusion that Bach probably attempted to depict the general sense of the hymn, referring "[...] not merely to the passing of the old year - and thus the transitory nature of human existence - but also danger and (in stanza 4) 'the sins of the old year.'"<sup>123</sup>



Example 26. BWV 614: *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* (bars 1-2)

<sup>120</sup> In a series of articles published in *The Musical Times*, Peter Williams supplies numerous examples demonstrating the use of the *passus duriusculus* throughout music history; see 'Figurenlehre from Monteverdi to Wagner', *The Musical Times*, 120 (1979), 476-79, 571-73, 648-50, 816-18; also, 'Encounters with the Chromatic Fourth... or, More on Figurenlehre, 1 & 2', *The Musical Times*, 126 (May & June 1985), 276-78 and 339-43. In his effort to devalue the concept of *musica poetica*, Peter Williams attempts, falsely, to relate the descending chromatic fourth and the general sense of the *musikalische Figurenlehre* with the music of Beethoven, Verdi, and Wagner, resulting in numerous misunderstandings regarding the true concept of *musica poetica*. Although no one can underestimate the expressiveness of this figure in music history, one should be aware of the particular affective significance that musical-rhetorical figures such as the *passus duriusculus* had for the Baroque concept of musical rhetoric only. In one of his early essays (1983) Williams attacks the approach to the *Orgelbüchlein* based on the examination of particular figures (e.g. the chorale prelude *Durch Adams Fall ist ganz verderbt* discussed before) by describing such an approach as "[...] a desk-bound study made in isolation, [...] in which good figural analysis is pushed in the same Schweitzerian direction" (see 'The Snares and Delusions of Musical Rhetoric', p. 238). In his discussion of *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist*, rejecting the idea that this particular work might express a sorrowful content, Williams belongs among the few scholars to raise the question: "[...] is the 'melancholy' heard in it by organists over the last century or so justified by the 'objective' traditionalism of its key motif?" (*The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 265).

<sup>121</sup> Note that in this particular chorale the first melodic line is repeated, while both the first and the last lines of each stanza are repeated in order to fit the chorale melody. The first stanza reads as follows: *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist/ das alte Jahr vergangen ist/ wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ/ dass du uns hast in mancher Gfahr/ so gnädilich behüt' dies Jahr/ so gnädilich behüt' dies Jahr*; see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Heinz-Harald Löhle, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 1, p. xii. English translation: The old year has gone by/ we thank you, Lord Jesus Christ/ that in such great danger/ you preserved us this year so graciously (Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 264).

<sup>122</sup> The text of the fourth stanza is as follows: *Hilf, dass wir von der Sünd ablan/ hilf, dass wir von der Sünd ablan/ und fromm zu werden fahen an/ kein'r Sünd des alten Jahrs gedenk/ ein gnadenreich Neujahr uns schenk/ ein gnadenreich Neujahr uns schenk*; English translation: Thy Spirit keep us free from sin/ create us quite anew within/ remember no transgressions past/ Thy mercy all our years outlast (Charles Sanford Terry, *The Four-Part Chorals of J. S. Bach*, p. 60).

<sup>123</sup> Stinson, p. 110.

From the beginning of the chorale, the cantus firmus demonstrates an expressive melismatic coloratura, accompanied by the *passus duriusculus* presented in imitation in the lower voices (see examples 26-27), both in canonic stretto form (*anaphora*) and in invertible counterpoint (see bars 1-4).<sup>124</sup> For the sake of intensification, Bach introduces the accompanying material just after the statement of the second note of the cantus firmus (see upbeat-bar 1), while the solo figuration between the first two chorale lines illustrates a rare case of a transitional interlude, an aspect reminiscent of Bach's compositional style illustrated in the Arnstadt Congregational Chorales.<sup>125</sup>

On the second beat of bar 1 the chorale melody demonstrates a *mezzo circolo* figure, while a variety of musical-rhetorical figures, including a *tirata mezza* (second beat of bar 2) and a *groppo* (fourth beat of bar 2) appear at the end of the first line and during the free transition to the second one (illustrating, according to the text of the fourth stanza, the phrase 'der Sünd ablan').<sup>126</sup> The incorporation of figures that embellish a melodic passage - in this case, the last beats of bar 2 - demonstrates the *passaggio* or *variatio* figure; this, according to Walther "[...] occurs when an unadorned vocal or instrumental melody is altered and embellished through the introduction of smaller notes, yet in such a manner that the principal melody notes can still be perceived and understood."<sup>127</sup>



Example 27. BWV 614: *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* (bars 3-5)

Furthermore, in this exhaustive application of the chromatic fourth throughout the prelude, the appearance of the *passus duriusculus* in the soprano (third phrase, bars 4-5) makes plausible the assumption that Bach could have derived the *passus duriusculus* from the cantus firmus of the chorale, as can be seen from the decorated version of the melody in bar 5 (see example 27).<sup>128</sup> The

<sup>124</sup> Benitez, p. 8.

<sup>125</sup> Stinson, pp. 110-11.

<sup>126</sup> Benitez, p. 8.

<sup>127</sup> Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 628, translated by Bartel, p. 437.

<sup>128</sup> Benitez, p. 8. See also Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 265.



expressive *passus duriusculus* appears in the cantus firmus in the third line of the prelude (example 27), and if one follows the text of the third line of the fifth stanza ('zu sterben, und hernach fröhlich'),<sup>129</sup> it becomes obvious that "[...] the sense of man's eternal concern for the passing of his own existence"<sup>130</sup> probably made Bach apply this figure both in its original ascending state (in the soprano) and in a descending version (in the alto).



Example 28. BWV 614: *Das alte Jahr vergangen ist* (bars 9-12)

Finally, a perfect example of a dramatic textual representation is illustrated in the final bar of the piece. The series of expressive sighing figures ("*suspirantis animi affectus*")<sup>131</sup> rising in parallel motion in the soprano and the alto symbolize, apparently, the allegory of the concluding line of the fifth verse ('mit dir in Himmel einzugehn'). Through the ascending motion created by the rising sequence of *suspirationes*, Bach not only obscures the original chorale melody, but also adds a triumphant symbolism to the sorrowful character of the prelude.

Of the thirteen Passion chorale preludes Bach planned to include in his initial project, seven were completed, forming the second largest group after the ten Christmas chorales that appear in the *Orgelbüchlein*. Of the seven Passiontide chorales,<sup>132</sup> it is worth noticing that the cantus firmus is treated canonically in

<sup>129</sup> The text of the fifth stanza is as follows: Christlich zu leben, seliglich/ christlich zu leben, seliglich/ zu sterben, und hernach fröhlich/ am jüngsten Tag wied'r aufzustehn/ mit dir in Himmel einzugehn/ mit dir in Himmel einzugehn; English translation: Grant us to lead a Christian life/ and when we leave this world of strife/ then raise us to that joyful day/ where Thou wilt wipe all tears away (Terry, *The Four-Part Chorals of J. S. Bach*, p. 60).

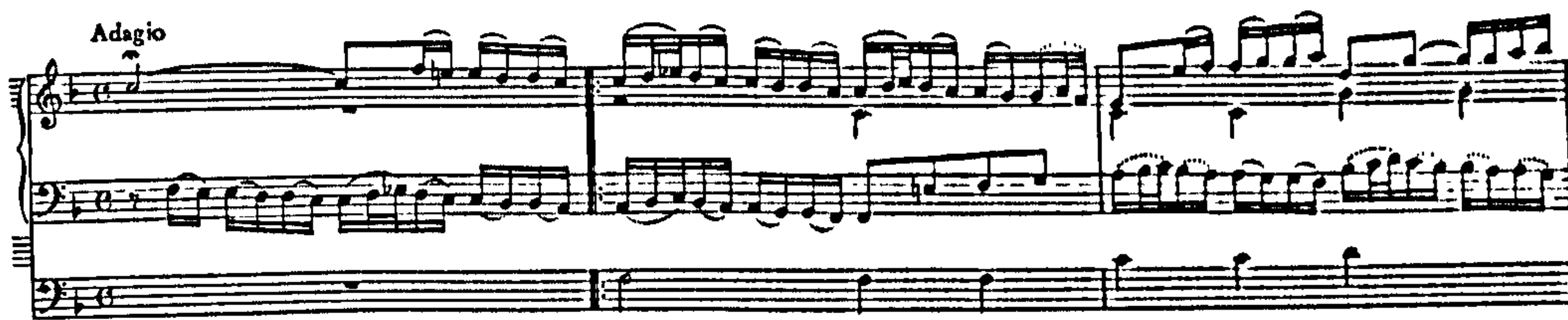
<sup>130</sup> James C. Moeser, 'Symbolism in J. S. Bach's *Orgelbüchlein*', *The American Organist*, 48.2 (February 1965), 22-25 (p. 23). Although Moeser cites another version of the fifth stanza (since he quotes A. Schweitzer) the resulting poignant effect remains significant. Schweitzer supplies the following text: Hilf uns in jeder Erdennot/ hilf uns in jeder Erdennot/ bring uns ein selig über'n Tod/ dass wir mit Freuden auferstehn/ und mit dir in den Himmel gehen/ und mit dir in den Himmel gehen; English translation: Help us in all our need/ and after a happy death/ may we rise again in joy/ to dwell with Thee in heaven (Schweitzer, vol. 2, p. 68).

<sup>131</sup> Bartel, p. 393.

<sup>132</sup> These are the following: *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* (BWV 618), *Christe, du Lamm Gottes* (BWV 619), *Christus, der uns selig macht* (BWV 620), *Da Jesus an dem Kreuze stund* (BWV 621), *O Mensch, beweine deine Sünde gross* (BWV 622), *Wir danken dir, Herr Jesu Christ* (BWV 623), and *Hilf, Gott, dass mir's gelinge* (BWV 624).

over half of them, an aspect many scholars have justified as being determined by the influence of the text, which depicts the image of the sacrificial Lamb being brought to slaughter, or even Jesus carrying the Cross of Martyrdom (usually when the text includes verbs such as 'tragen', which means 'to carry').<sup>133</sup> A good example where the text, the canonic treatment of the cantus firmus, and the musical-rhetorical figures employed are determined by the intended affect is provided by the prelude *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* (BWV 618).

The chorale melody is set canonically at the interval of a fifth between the tenor (played by the pedals) and the alto (starting from bar 2), while false canonic imitation at the octave is illustrated also from the beginning of the piece between the bass and the soprano, which is more easily perceivable to the ear of the listener than the actual canon.<sup>134</sup>



Example 29. BWV 618: *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* (bars 1-3)

The non-canonic parts of the chorale prelude are dominated by a sequence of successive descending appoggiaturas, the slurred 'sighing' semiquaver motive commonly known as the 'figure of grief', in which the slurs are from Bach's own handwriting. The paired slurs intensify the slow-moving character of the piece creating "an atmosphere of poignant sadness",<sup>135</sup> in which "the second of the two tied notes must always be lightly breathed, making the motive seem like a series of sighs from the depth of the soul."<sup>136</sup> Chromaticism and dissonance as a means of strengthening the dramatic character of the Biblical text (which actually represents a paraphrase of the Gregorian *Agnus Dei*)<sup>137</sup> appear in the fourth phrase

<sup>133</sup> Stinson, p. 128.

<sup>134</sup> James C. Moeser, 'Symbolism in J. S. Bach's *Orgelbuechlein*', *The American Organist*, 48.3 (March 1965), p. 18.

<sup>135</sup> Karl Geiringer, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Culmination of an Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 234.

<sup>136</sup> Albert Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, p. 65.

<sup>137</sup> Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 272. One reads the following text: *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig/ am Stamm des Kreuzes geschlachtet/ allzeit funden geduldig/ wiewohl du warest verachtet/ all Sünd hast du getragen/ sonst müssten wir verzagen/ Erbarm dich unser, O Jesu.* English translation: *O Lamb of God, innocently/ slain on the stem of the cross/ always found*



of the prelude, where the suspension on the middle c' in the pedal combined with the *passus duriusculus* in the bass (bars 12-13) illustrate the word 'verzagen' (despair) in the text.<sup>138</sup>



Example 30. BWV 618: *O Lamm Gottes, unschuldig* (bars 12-14)

The 'sighing' slurred motive is also used by Bach in other cases in order to express the same poignant affect, as, for instance, in the instrumental accompaniment to the Passiontide chorale *O Mensch, beweine deine Sünde gross* at the end of the first part of the St Matthew Passion.<sup>139</sup>

Example 31. Chorale: Soprano and chorus: *Matthäus-Passion*, No. 29 (bars 17-18)<sup>140</sup>

Although the aforementioned figure is most likely to be encountered in chorales and chorale preludes where the text governs significantly the affective content of the piece, examples from Bach's organ repertoire illustrate the use of the 'sighing' motive, which, despite the absence of the text, still depicts the same

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forbearing/ however despised you were/ all sin have you borne/ otherwise we should have despaired/ Have mercy on us, Jesus.

<sup>138</sup> Stinson, p. 128.

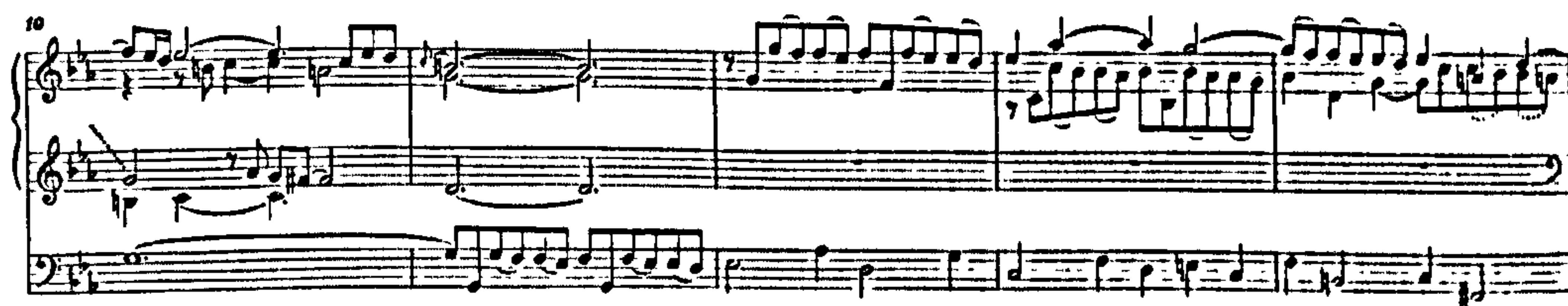
<sup>139</sup> *ibid.*, pp. 128-29. Also Keller, p. 211.

<sup>140</sup> J. S. Bach, *Matthäus-Passion* (BWV 244), Vocal Score Based on the Urtext of the New Bach Edition by Alfred Dürr (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1974), p. 115.

poignant affect. As mentioned before, the Weimar period was a very productive time for Bach regarding his organ compositions, and one of the finest examples dating from that period is the Fantasy and Fugue in C minor (BWV 537). The Fantasy begins in a three-voice fugal style built on the fundamental pedal C, while its melancholy style is illustrated from the beginning through the *exclamatio* figure in the top voice, a figure Mattheson described as “[...] a veritable scream resulting from extreme dismay or astonishment [...]”.<sup>141</sup> The *exclamatio* is soon imitated by the inner voices (*polyptoton*, bars 1-4), while after its demonstration in the pedal (bars 7-8), the ‘sighing’ slurred appoggiaturas preceded by octave leaps appear first in the pedal, a motive that is treated imitatively by the voices in the following bars, leading to an *anaphora* (*repetitio*, bars 11-14).



Example 32. BWV 537: *Fantasia con Fuga*: *exclamatio* figure (bars 1-9)<sup>142</sup>



Example 33. BWV 537: *Fantasia con Fuga*: ‘sighing’ motive (bars 10-14)

From bar 32 onwards (example 34), the slurred ‘sighing’ figure is demonstrated both in its original and in inverted state, as well as in parallel motion between the voices, while bold chromaticism (bars 32-41) leading to

<sup>141</sup> Mattheson, *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part II, Chapter 9, §67, p. 194; translation of the German text quoted here from Bartel, p. 269.

<sup>142</sup> Examples 32-34 are drawn from the fifth volume of the *Neue Bach Ausgabe*. See J. S. Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Dietrich Kilian, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 5.1: Preludes, Toccatas, Fantasias and Fugues (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1972).



expressive modulations, including the F minor one (bars 37-39), intensifies the dramatic character of the piece.



Example 34. BWV 537: *Fantasia con Fuga* (bars 32-41)

The melancholy aura of the Fantasy and Fugue in C minor depicted through the dominance of the 'sighing' figure is also encountered in the harpsichord work *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo* (*Capriccio on the Departure of his Most Beloved Brother*, BWV 992).<sup>143</sup> The piece dates from 1704 and was composed when Bach's eldest brother, Johann Jacob, left Thuringia in order to join the Swedish army as oboist in the Guard of King Charles XII.<sup>144</sup> The 'sighing' figure preceded by descending chromatic motives appears at the end of the third section of the Capriccio marked 'adagiosissimo' and entitled 'Ist ein allgemeines Lamento der Freunde' ('A general lament of the friends'),<sup>145</sup> while suggestions have been made with regard to the connection of the motive of grief with Bach's sadness for his brother's departure from Germany.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>143</sup> Keller, p. 106.

<sup>144</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Bach: List of the Musicians', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ii, pp. 297-302 (p. 301).

<sup>145</sup> Geiringer, pp. 261-62. See also Albert Protz, 'Zu Johann Sebastian Bachs "Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo"', *Die Musikforschung*, 10 (1957), 405-08.

<sup>146</sup> This aspect is viewed with suspicion by Christoph Wolff; see Christoph Wolff, 'The Identity of the "Fratro Diletteissimo" in the Capriccio B-Flat Major and Other Problems of Bach's Early Harpsichord Works', in *The Harpsichord and its Repertoire: Proceedings of the International Harpsichord Symposium Utrecht 1990*, ed. by Pieter Dirksen (Utrecht: Stichting voor Musiekhistorische Uitvoeringspraktijk, 1992), pp. 145-56. Wolff also expresses his objections to the traditional viewpoint in his *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, pp. 74-75.



Example 35. BWV 992: *Capriccio sopra la lontananza del suo fratello diletteissimo* (bars 33-43)<sup>147</sup>

The same melancholy affect but without the utilization of the figure of grief is depicted in the chorale prelude *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig* (BWV 644), a piece where the chorale text “[...] compares the transitoriness of life to the cloud ‘that soon arises and soon has passed away.’”<sup>148</sup> The text of Michael Franck (1609-1667) dates from 1652, in which the thirteen five-line verses present the sequence of *flüchtig* (transitory) and *nichtig* (vain) in the first two lines of each verse in alternating order.<sup>149</sup>

In his attempt to describe “the frailty of temporal existence”<sup>150</sup> implied by the text, Bach applies rapid scalar ascending and descending passages that dominate the manual texture (*anabasis/ catabasis*). At the same time, the running motives in the inner voices picture the esoteric meaning of the word *flüchtig* (fleeting), depicted by the *fuga*, a figure that “[...] refers to a musical passage which is employed when the words indicate a flight, thereby illustrating their content in as like manner as possible.”<sup>151</sup> On the other hand, the quality of the

<sup>147</sup> Johann Sebastian Bach, *Suiten, Sonaten, Capriccios und Variationen*, herausgegeben von Georg von Dadelsen (München: G. Henle Verlag, 1975).

<sup>148</sup> Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, p. 57. See also James C. Moeser, ‘Symbolism in J. S. Bach’s *Orgelbuechlein*’, *The American Organist*, 48.7 (July 1965), 11-13 (p. 11).

<sup>149</sup> The first and the eighth verse of the hymn are as follows: *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig/ ist der Menschen Leben/ wie ein Nebel bald entstehet/ und auch wieder bald vergehet/ so ist unser Leben, sehet!* (verse 1); *Ach wie nichtig, ach wie flüchtig/ sind der Menschen Sachen/ alles, alles was wir sehen/ das muss fallen und vergehen/ wer Gott fürcht’, wird ewig stehen* (verse 8). English translation: *Ah how fleeting, ah how paltry/ is the life of mankind/ as a mist soon rises/ and as soon disperses again/ see! so is our life* (verse 1); *Ah how paltry, ah how fleeting/ are the things of mankind/ all, all that we see/ must fall and decay/ he who fears God will survive for ever* (verse 8); see Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 315.

<sup>150</sup> Benitez, p. 10.

<sup>151</sup> Walther, *Musicalisches Lexicon*, p. 267, translated by Bartel, p. 289. For the same figure, as employed by Buxtehude in the chorale prelude *Ach Herr, mich armen Sünder*, see page 151 of this chapter. It is worth mentioning that similar scalar patterns appear in the chorale of the opening chorus of Bach’s Cantata no. 26 under the same title, while the same ‘fleeting’ figuration is also

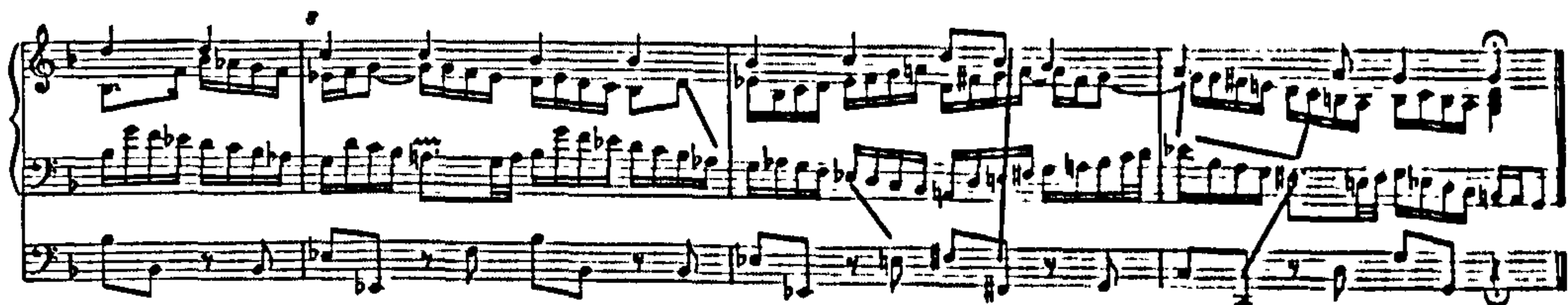


word *nichtig* (empty) is depicted by a *quasi-pizzicato* bass, which consists of consecutive octave leaps (*salti simplici*) that are further reinforced by expressive rests (*tmesis*). The sense of fall described by leaps (*salti simplici*) and rests (*tmesis*) in the chorale prelude *Durch Adams Fall* is also confirmed in the prelude under discussion by the eighth verse, and by the closing lines of the last verse: 'das muss fallen und vergehen: wer Gott fürcht', bleibt ewig stehen'.<sup>152</sup>



Example 36. BWV 644: *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig* (bars 1-3)

Finally, the abundance of the expressive *anabasis* and *catabasis* figures culminates in bars 8-10, where the false relations (*parrhesia*) between the voices lead to the final bar, in which the rare instance of pedal absence from the concluding chord functions as a *hypotyposis* of the vanity (*nichtig*) described by the text.<sup>153</sup>



Example 37. BWV 644: *Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig* (bars 7-10)

The triumphant message of Christ's resurrection is vividly illustrated in the Easter chorale prelude *Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ* (BWV 628),<sup>154</sup> while a similar figuration depicting joy for the coming of the New Year is repeated throughout the prelude *In dir ist Freude* (BWV 615). In the former case, Bach's

apparent in Georg Böhm's Partita No. 4 'Ach wie flüchtig, ach wie nichtig' (Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 315-16).

<sup>152</sup> Terry, *The Four-Part Chorals of J. S. Bach*, p. 12.

<sup>153</sup> Benitez, p. 11. Another instance of pedal absence in the final chord is illustrated in the chorale prelude *Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ* (BWV 628), without, however, any textual implications. According to Stinson (p. 125) a similar *hypotyposis* of the sense of emptiness is depicted in the 'Esurientes implevit bonis' movement of Bach's Magnificat, where an "empty" final note closes the movement as a depiction of the word *inanes* (empty).


<sup>154</sup> *Erstanden ist der heilige Christ/ Halleluja, Halleluja/ der aller Welt ein Tröster ist/ Halleluja, Halleluja*; English translation: The holy Christ is risen/ Hallelujah, Hallelujah/ who is a comforter to all the world/ Hallelujah, Hallelujah (Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 290).

setting of the melody constitutes a stirring illustration of the first line of the text, with scalar ascending and descending four-note motives (*grosso*: bar 1, beats 2-3) preceded by constant quaver note patterns in the alto and the tenor known as *figurae suspirans* (upbeat, bars 2-4).<sup>155</sup> The depiction of the first word 'erstanden' (risen) of the text and its consequent joyful meaning for Easter are strengthened by the *salti simplici*, in other words the perfect cadences in the pedal (V-I) throughout the prelude that have been interpreted as an 'affirmation of faith'.<sup>156</sup>



Example 38. BWV 628: *Erstanden ist der heil'ge Christ* (bars 1-5)

A similar figuration related to the depiction of unrestrained joy implied by the celebratory text is illustrated in the New Year chorale prelude *In dir ist Freude* (BWV 615). This constitutes the most flamboyant and extended work of the collection and resembles the seventeenth-century north German chorale fantasy in its treatment of the chorale melody.<sup>157</sup> Fragmentation techniques distribute the cantus firmus to all voices throughout the prelude, usually in ornamented form, separated from each other by expansive virtuosic interludes.<sup>158</sup> Scholars have stressed Georg Böhm's influence on J. S. Bach's style regarding the passing of the melody from one voice to the other,<sup>159</sup> as well as the persistent repetition of the ostinato bass,<sup>160</sup> a motive that functions as a countersubject to the cantus firmus.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>155</sup>  *Figura suspirans*, as illustrated by Johann Gottfried Walther in his *Musicalisches Lexicon* (Table X); see Faksimile-Nachdruck, 1953.

<sup>156</sup> Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 290.

<sup>157</sup> Stinson, p. 75.

<sup>158</sup> *ibid.*, p. 135.

<sup>159</sup> Williams, p. 267.

<sup>160</sup> Schweitzer, *J. S. Bach*, vol. 2, p. 62.

<sup>161</sup> Moeser claims that the ostinato bass is possibly derived from the first phrase of the chorale tune (example 39 on the following page); see James C. Moeser, 'Symbolism in J. S. Bach's *Orgelbuechlein*', *The American Organist*, 48.2 (February 1965), 22-25 (p. 24).



Example 39. BWV 615: *In dir ist Freude* (bars 1-8)

The work commences with a fragment of the first line of the melody stated in the tenor, which is imitated by the soprano and the alto in the following two bars (*polyptoton*), while the ostinato pedal, “one of the most animated themes of rejoicing in the chorale preludes [...]”,<sup>162</sup> is heard three times within the first five bars (*anaphora, repetitio*). The *anaphora* is also illustrated in bars 7-8 where the pedal repeats the opening statement of the tenor (bars 1-2), while the joyful and exalted affect is reinforced by the manual *figurae suspirans* (bars 3 and 5), as well as by the *anabasis* figures (bars 6-7) spanning the interval of three octaves (bars 10-12).

Example 40. BWV 615: *In dir ist Freude* (bars 9-12)

Ornamented melodic patterns occur also in the treatment of the fourth line of the chorale melody, where the embellished version in the soprano (bars 44-45) is repeated in bars 46-47 (*climax/ gradatio*), a motive imitated by the alto in bars 45, 47, and 48 (*polyptoton*). Finally, a fragment of the ornamented melodic version is demonstrated in the pedal in bar 48 (*anaphora*), one of the few examples of pedal trills (with turn) notated by Bach himself in his organ works.<sup>163</sup>

<sup>162</sup> Schweitzer, vol. 2, p. 66.

<sup>163</sup> Stinson, pp. 135-36.



Example 41. BWV 615: *In dir ist Freude* (bars 43-52)

To summarize, the examples discussed so far support the notion that the chorale settings of D. Buxtehude and J. S. Bach demonstrate a fusion of rhetorical figures with Baroque compositional techniques. In collections such as the *Orgelbüchlein*, the text, although hidden, is clearly illustrated through a plethora of expressive rhetorical figures, the origin of most of which can be traced back to vocal music (e.g. *saltus* and *passus duriusculus*). Although the field of musical rhetoric is viewed with suspicion in certain musical circles, one cannot ignore historical grounds. The abundance of musical-rhetorical treatises already discussed in the first chapter testifies that rhetorical knowledge was commonplace for Baroque composers, and catalogues of rhetorical devices supplied compositional suggestions from which composers drew their inventive craftsmanship. The demonstration of musical-rhetorical figures and rhetorical structure in Baroque music can serve as points of departure for an effective comprehension of Baroque compositional procedure. In particular, the identification of musical-rhetorical figures and their application in chorale preludes such as those by D. Buxtehude and J. S. Bach constitute a fundamental step for a better understanding, and, as a result, a better performance of their organ music. The assimilation of the rhetorical framework, as illustrated by samples of the free organ works of D. Buxtehude and the early compositions of J. S. Bach, will be the next stage of the present work.



#### 4. RHETORICAL STRUCTURE IN ORGAN WORKS: A DISCUSSION OF THE RHETORICAL *DISPOSITIO* IN BUXTEHUDE'S FREE ORGAN PRELUDES AND ITS IMPACT ON THE COMPOSITIONS OF N. BRUHNS AND J. S. BACH

After the examination of musical-rhetorical figures in chorale preludes, the subject of the final stage of the present work is the application of the rhetorical *dispositio* in free organ music, starting with works by Dietrich Buxtehude. Buxtehude's *pedaliter praeludia* can be analysed rhetorically as a polished *Klangrede*, where the rhetorical framework meets an exceptional musical illustration. Additionally, the inner logic and structure of different musical textures encountered in his free preludes reflect a unique fusion of two pre-existing textural forms;<sup>1</sup> these are the Italian canzona developed to a high level by Girolamo Frescobaldi, and the south German toccata genre, which culminated in the compositions of Johann Jacob Froberger.

From around 1500, the term 'toccata' was employed to describe music with an element of manual dexterity. The toccata soon prevailed as the most common type of keyboard music in the repertoire of Venetian composers.<sup>2</sup> Stylistically, the Renaissance toccatas (*praeambula* or *praeludia* and later on *ricercars*) by Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli, Annibale Padovano, Girolamo Diruta, and Claudio Merulo display a continuous texture that consists of solid block chords and occasionally imitative sections alternating with or set against free scalar passages.<sup>3</sup> The most daring compositions are those of Claudio

<sup>1</sup> Lena Jacobson, 'Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude's Free Organ Works', *The Organ Yearbook*, 13 (1982), 60-79.

<sup>2</sup> Murray C. Bradshaw, 'Pre-Bach Organ Toccatas: Form, Style, and Registration', *The Diapason*, 64 (1972), 26-28.

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 26. See also John Caldwell, 'Toccata', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), xxv, pp. 534-37. For the early improvisatory and later imitative nature of compositions entitled *praeambula* or *ricercars*, see Warren Kirkendale, 'Ciceronians versus Aristotelians on the Ricercar as Exordium, from Bembo to Bach', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 32.1 (1979), 1-44. For a more complete discussion of the whole issue with references to the rhetorical *exordium*, see pp. 116-18 of the present work (footnote 201).

Merulo, which demonstrate a rhapsodic style and consist of three or five parts, where chordal and fugal sections alternate with virtuosic passagework.<sup>4</sup>

The new era of the Italian toccata was undoubtedly inaugurated through the compositions of Girolamo Frescobaldi (1583-1643).<sup>5</sup> His change in style, as illustrated in his collections *Toccate e partite d' intavolature di cimbalo* (*Primo libro*, Rome, 1615, and *Secondo libro*, 1627), signified a 'new manner' and emphasized the expression of the *affetti* (affections).<sup>6</sup> Besides the plethora of brief rhythmical figures that dominated his compositional technique, the new affective performing expression favoured flexibility in tempo, a novelty Frescobaldi himself indicated in the prefatory notes to the first edition of his *Toccate e partite* (1615).<sup>7</sup>

Frescobaldi's new style, as established in his *Secondo libro* (1627), demonstrates a powerful yet simple rhetoric, where short sections are clearly delineated through metric and textural contrasts. Moreover, agitated *passagi* denote intense rhythmic complexity, while virtuosic ornamentation calls for not only the intellectual but also the technical potential of the performer.<sup>8</sup> Additionally, suspended strong dissonances (e.g. in *Toccata di durezza e ligature*), bold use of chromaticism and daring turns of harmony result in unexpected tonal changes; on the other hand, in contrast to earlier toccatas

<sup>4</sup> Willi Apel, *The History of Keyboard Music to 1700*, p. 457.

<sup>5</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of Frescobaldi's style together with a relevant bibliography, see Frederick Hammond and Alexander Silbiger, 'Frescobaldi, Girolamo Alessandro', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ix, pp. 238-52. For Frescobaldi's compositional and teaching activities, see Alexander Silbiger, 'The Roman Frescobaldi Tradition, c. 1640-1670', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 33.1 (Spring 1980), 42-87.

<sup>6</sup> Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: His Life and Music* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983), pp. 141-61.

<sup>7</sup> "[...] Since I well know how much the manner of playing that involves vocal affects and differentiation of sections [*passi*] is favored, I thought it right to prove my interest and sympathy therewith through this modest work, which I deliver to the printer together with the following remarks [...]. 1. This manner of playing must not always follow the same meter; in this respect it is similar to the performance of modern madrigals, whose difficulty is eased by taking the beat [*battuta*] slowly at times and fast at others, even by pausing with the singing in accordance with the mood or the meaning of the words. 2. In the toccatas I have seen to it not only that they are rich in varied sections and moods [*passi diversi et affetti*] but also that one may play each section separately, so that the player can stop wherever he wishes [...]", cited in Apel, p. 456. For another English translation, see Frederick Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1988).

<sup>8</sup> Bradshaw, p. 26; see also Hammond, *Girolamo Frescobaldi: His Life and Music*, pp. 222-51.



(particularly those by Merulo), strict imitative sections do not alternate with free running segments.<sup>9</sup>

Frescobaldi's compositional style was adopted by Michelangelo Rossi (1600-1670), who expanded on it through the extreme use of chromaticism and rhythmical irregularities. However, despite Frescobaldi's influence, Rossi's toccatas, first printed in 1640, deviate from those of his predecessor in the addition of extended imitative passages. In contrast to Merulo's compositions that illustrate a three- or five-part form, Rossi's toccatas demonstrate a four-part disposition in the order toccata-fugato-toccat-fugato. In these works, the second, usually shorter, fugue is treated less imitatively, and dissolves into free passagework at the end.<sup>10</sup>

Influenced more by his contemporary Rossi than his teacher Frescobaldi,<sup>11</sup> Johann Jacob Froberger (1616-1667)<sup>12</sup> composed twenty-four free rhapsodic toccatas, most of which contain four or five sections, contrasting in texture, melody, and rhythm. Displaying a rational alternation between improvisational and fugal passages, Froberger's multisectional toccatas illustrate a more tightly organized form where each individual part is clearly delineated.<sup>13</sup>

A typical Froberger toccata opens with a free improvisatory (*stylus phantasticus*) introduction. This section often includes ornamental gestures that are treated imitatively, and sustained chords intended to be elaborated freely in the Frescobaldian way.<sup>14</sup> The brief rhapsodic opening is followed by a free-voiced fugato, which displays a quasi-contrapuntal and playful texture, but in a rhythmically sharp profile in contrast to the free opening segment.<sup>15</sup> After the first fugue, a brief improvisatory interlude usually leads to a second fugal section, in which the initial subject appears in a rhythmically varied

<sup>9</sup> Apel, p. 457; see also Hammond and Silbiger, 'Frescobaldi, Girolamo Alessandro', p. 245.

<sup>10</sup> Apel, pp. 487-88.

<sup>11</sup> *ibid.*, p. 552.

<sup>12</sup> Howard Schott, 'Froberger, Johann Jacob', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), ix, pp. 282-86.

<sup>13</sup> Bradshaw, p. 27; also James W. Kosnik, 'Froberger's Toccatas', *The American Organist*, 16 (July 1982), 38-41.

<sup>14</sup> John Butt, 'Germany and The Netherlands', pp. 187-88.

<sup>15</sup> Schott, 'Froberger, Johann Jacob', p. 284.

form, often in smaller note values.<sup>16</sup> The improvisatory style occasionally reappears as another free transition to a third imitative part that illustrates rhythmical variations of the initial fugal motive. The toccata closes with a rhapsodic segment that functions as an elaboration of the concluding cadence, illustrating figurations already encountered in the introduction.<sup>17</sup>

Although it is Rossi's influence that is mostly apparent in Froberger's keyboard works, the latter's 'Elevation toccatas' (*alla levatione*), intended for liturgical use, recall the Frescobaldian style.<sup>18</sup> In these early works, and in contrast to the majority of his toccatas already discussed, Froberger eschews strict imitative portions; on the contrary, free sections, determined by daring shifts of harmony, illustrate affective melodic writing through bold dissonant clashes and expressive rhythmical gestures.<sup>19</sup>

The textural analysis of Froberger's toccatas presented above has always been considered an appropriate approach to compositions belonging to the *stylus phantasticus*. Athanasius Kircher (1650) first described this genre as

[...] a method of composition free and unrestrained in manner, and without any restriction, either of words or of a harmonic subject [...] forswearing the ordinary logic of harmony in order to teach the ingenious joining of harmonic sections and fugues.<sup>20</sup>

Almost a century later, Johann Mattheson, in his *Der vollkommene Capellmeister* (1739), considered *stylus phantasticus* a genre belonging to the *genus theatralis*, and referred to "[...] the so-called *Fantasie*, *Capriccie*,

<sup>16</sup> George J. Buelow, 'Johann Jacob Froberger', in *The New Grove North European Baroque Masters*, ed. by S. Sadie, The Composer Biography Series (London: Macmillan, 1985), pp. 153-69 (p. 159).

<sup>17</sup> Schott, 'Froberger, Johann Jacob', p. 284.

<sup>18</sup> Buelow, 'Johann Jacob Froberger', p. 162.

<sup>19</sup> Apel, p. 554.

<sup>20</sup> According to Athanasius Kircher, "Phantasticus stylus aptus instrumentis, est liberrima, & solutissima componendi methodus, nullis, nec verbis, nec subiecto harmonico adstrictus ad ostentandum ingenium, & abditam harmoniae rationem, ingeniosumque harmonicarum clausularum, fugarumque contextum docendum institutus, dividiturque in eas, quas *Phantasias*, *Ricercatas*, *Toccatas*, *Sonatas*, vulgo vocant [...]", in Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni* (Rome: F. Corbelletti, 1650; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), vol. 1, p. 585, cited in Gustav Leonhardt, 'Johann Jakob Froberger and his Music', *L'Organo*, 6 (1968), 15-40 (p. 21). Translation quoted here from Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Bach's Free Organ Works and the Stylus Phantasticus', in *J. S. Bach as Organist: His Instruments, Music, and Performance Practices*, ed. by G. B. Stauffer and E. May (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 157-71 (p. 162).



*Toccate, Ricercare*, etc. [...]”<sup>21</sup> as instrumental works relying on the imagination of the composer (*a mente* or *non a penna*).<sup>22</sup> In defining *stylus phantasticus*, Mattheson deviated significantly from Kircher who, citing among other examples a fantasia by Froberger,<sup>23</sup> pointed to strict contrapuntal techniques that depended on “the display of artifice” (*ad ostentandum ingenium*) of the composer.<sup>24</sup> Mattheson was undoubtedly referring to the north German organ toccata, which by his time had become the compositional paradigm of the *stylus phantasticus*. This genre displayed a multisectional form with alternations of monophonic and polyphonic sections, where the performer was expected to demonstrate his improvisatory skills. According to Mattheson, this was “[...] the freest and least restricted style [...]”, yet one was bound “[...] by neither words nor melody, but only by harmony [...]”.<sup>25</sup> Strict metre and contrapuntal writing were by no means excluded, but served as a background set against the exposition of the fantastic elements.<sup>26</sup> Due to the improvisatory nature of this style, principal motives and sections would inevitably occur, but they should not be treated at length, e.g. by sequence or imitation; on the other hand, “[...] those composers who work out formal fugues in their fantasias or toccatas do not maintain the integrity of this style, for nothing is so very contrary to it as order and constraint.”<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §88, p. 216.

<sup>22</sup> Krummacher, ‘Bach's Free Organ Works and the Stylus Phantasticus’, p. 163.

<sup>23</sup> “Harpsichords, organs, regals and all multiplucked musical instruments [...] require compositions, which indeed must be such, that with them the organist not only shows his own genius, but also with them as preambles as it were he prepares and excites the spirits of the listeners for the entertainment of the symphonic harmony that will follow. Many call harmonic compositions of this type *praeludia*, Italian *toccatas*, *sonatas*, *ricercatas*, of which manner we present one, which J. Jacob Froberger, imperial organist and formerly pupil of the most celebrated organist Hieronymus Frescobaldi made on *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, prepared with such workmanship that whether you observe the most perfect method of composition and of fugues, the order of things following themselves cleverly, or the remarkable change of the time, it seems that nothing at all can be missing; and therefore we consider it to be set out before all organists as a most perfect example of composition of this kind, which they might imitate”, in Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 1, p. 465, cited and translated by Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, pp. 252-53.

<sup>24</sup> Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 1, p. 585, cited in Leonhardt, ‘Johann Jakob Froberger and his Music’, p. 21, translated by Krummacher, ‘Bach's Free Organ Works and the Stylus Phantasticus’, p. 162 (see above, footnote no. 20).

<sup>25</sup> *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 217.

<sup>26</sup> Krummacher, ‘Bach's Free Organ Works and the Stylus Phantasticus’, p. 163.

<sup>27</sup> *Johann Mattheson's Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §94, p. 217.

Following his discussion of the *stylus phantasticus*, Mattheson cites the first three bars from the Phrygian prelude by Dietrich Buxtehude (BuxWV 152), which he incorrectly identifies as a toccata by Froberger.<sup>28</sup> The influence of the *stylus phantasticus* on Buxtehude's free organ works is by no means slight, and such an approach has a certain historical value. Buxtehude's toccatas (or *praeludia*) demonstrate an undeniable culmination of the north German organ toccata,<sup>29</sup> modelled on the elegant figural style displayed in the toccatas of Froberger. However, the general characteristics of the fantastic style discussed above do not explain adequately the actual disposition of Buxtehude's free preludes, whose structure is determined by a careful balance between motivic and affective sections. In these works, the actual conception of the music does not seem to be whimsical and imaginative, but rather tightly organised in terms of textures, motives, and harmony.

On the other hand, elements of fantasy and improvisation, implied by the *stylus phantasticus*, are indeed apparent in all the free sections of Buxtehude's preludes. The Toccata in F major (BuxWV 156), for instance, has one of the most striking improvisatory introductions encountered in the preludes, in which metrical freedom - "now swift, now hesitating [...], now for a while behind the beat"<sup>30</sup> is of utmost importance.



Example 42. BuxWV 156: Toccata in F major (bars 1-7)<sup>31</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Kerala J. Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, p. 248.

<sup>29</sup> Kenneth G. Powell, 'An Analysis of the North German Organ Toccatas', *The Diapason*, 62.5 (April 1971), 27-29.

<sup>30</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 88, as translated by Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, p. 250.

<sup>31</sup> Dietrich Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. by Klaus Beckmann, rev. edn, vol. 2, Free Organ Works: BuxWV 155-176, 225 (Toccatas, Praeambulum, Ciaconas, Passacaglia, Manualiter Compositions) (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997).



However, Mattheson's description of the *stylus phantasticus* seems to be rather problematic. As Kerala Snyder points out, Mattheson supplied the first three bars of Buxtehude's Phrygian prelude (BuxWV 152), and it is not clear whether the theorist intended to describe just the free opening section or the various different portions encountered in the whole work.<sup>32</sup> In other words, living in a generation between Kircher and Mattheson, Buxtehude presented his own concept of the *stylus phantasticus*, which consisted of a unique synthesis of the controversial ideas supported by these two encyclopaedists. The performer's improvisatory skill is demonstrated in the free rhapsodic sections of the preludes, while properly worked-out fugues with entries of the fugal subject in all voices illustrate the composer's contrapuntal dexterity and display "the ingenious joining of harmonic sections and fugues."<sup>33</sup> By the time Buxtehude composed his free preludes, the concept of the *stylus phantasticus* had probably changed. One can presume that, in all likelihood, Mattheson was referring to Buxtehude when he spoke of composers who included "formal fugues" in their toccatas or fantasias and, by doing so, did not maintain "the integrity of the style."<sup>34</sup>

Buxtehude's free organ works present, undoubtedly, a synthesis of pre-existing musical forms, and demonstrate aspects of traditional counterpoint<sup>35</sup> set against the imaginative and rhapsodic elements of the *stylus phantasticus*. While simple textural analysis illustrates a mere alternation of fugal and rhapsodic sections, rhetorical analysis embodies a different approach that justifies the rationale behind the succession of seemingly disjointed parts as a design carefully worked out by the composer. The inner logic and structure of Buxtehude's organ works are reminiscent of the procedure encountered in the rhetorical *dispositio*, where the orator structured his speech in a logical arrangement of affective and objective materials.

According to Quintilian, a successful speech consisted of one or more central sections in which the orator developed his case with arguments and

<sup>32</sup> Snyder, *Dieterich Buxtehude: Organist in Lübeck*, p. 253.

<sup>33</sup> "[...] abditam harmoniae rationem, ingeniosumque harmonicarum clausularum, fugarumque contextum docendum institutus [...]", in Athanasius Kircher, *Musurgia universalis*, vol. 1, p. 585; see above, p. 177 (footnote no. 20).

<sup>34</sup> See page 178 above (footnote no. 27).

<sup>35</sup> Kerala J. Snyder, 'Dietrich Buxtehude's Studies in Learned Counterpoint', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 23 (1980), 544-64.

proofs (*narratio* and/or *confirmatio*), preceded by and concluded with affective passages (*exordium* and *peroratio*). Although certain circumstances in a speech might call for a particular kind of *dispositio*, the minimal requirements for an effective discourse embraced an *exordium* (introduction), a *confirmatio* (development of the case), and a *peroratio* (conclusion). However, an elaborate *dispositio* would begin and conclude with an *exordium* and a *peroratio*, while the central part of the speech would encompass a *narratio* and a *confirmatio*, occasionally with the addition of internal *perorationes* or *digressiones* between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*. Additionally, clear-cut changes in the style of the language tended to distinguish one section from the other. In the *exordium* and the *peroratio* the orator employed highly affective rhetorical figures and exceptional eloquence aiming to move the emotions of the audience; on the other hand, in the *narratio* and the *confirmatio* the speaker presented logically structured proofs and arguments that were intended to persuade the intellect.

Buxtehude's free organ preludes demonstrate a musical *dispositio* that meets the basic criteria encountered in the aforementioned rhetorical structure, where the influence of established musical forms encountered in toccatas by Frescobaldi and Froberger is reinforced by a powerful rhetoric.<sup>36</sup> Each work demonstrates a complex yet tightly woven musical design determined by daring harmonies and shifting modulations, while powerful figures contribute to the arousal of a passionate and dramatic effect. A typical Buxtehude prelude always begins with a striking *exordium*, the introduction to the *Klangrede* exciting the listener for what is to follow. In accordance with the

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<sup>36</sup> To this author's knowledge, the most comprehensive work regarding the application of the rhetorical *dispositio* in Buxtehude's organ preludes was undertaken by Sharon Lee Gorman in her unpublished doctoral dissertation entitled 'Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Praeludia of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637-1707)' (Stanford University, 1990). Gorman successfully analysed all of Buxtehude's *praeludia* based on the alternation of affective and objective sections, rejecting Jacobson's analyses that adopted the six-part musical-rhetorical *dispositio* as demonstrated by Mattheson in an aria by Marcello (see 'Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude's Free Organ Works', *The Organ Yearbook*, 13 (1982), 60-79). An approach similar to Jacobson's is encountered in John Butt's discussion of Buxtehude's Prelude in F# minor (BuxWV 146), although Butt views with suspicion the application of such an approach to Baroque organ music (Butt, 'Germany and The Netherlands', pp. 198-99). The summary in the present chapter of the overall form of Buxtehude's preludes, and the analysis of the Prelude in A minor (BuxWV 153), are adapted from Gorman's discussion, with a view to projecting a similar approach in Bach's early organ works. Particularly, Bach's Prelude in A minor (BWV 551) constitutes an exceptional case whose structure suggests Buxtehude's influence on the young J. S. Bach.



rhetorical *exordium*,<sup>37</sup> the musical *exordium* is a section where highly affective musical-rhetorical figures, sometimes combined with points of imitation, give rise to elements of fantasy and improvisation. Although the texture of the *exordium* might vary from one piece to another, dramatic scalar figurations (*anabasis*, *catabasis*), virtuosic pedal solos, expressive figures of silence (*aposiopesis*, *abruptio*), and chromatic semitones introduced into the composition for the arousal of passionate affections (*pathopoeia*), appear in an orderly fashion in order to produce a convincing style of oratory.<sup>38</sup>

When a prelude by Buxtehude contains more than one fugal section (which is often the case), the first one following the *exordium* represents the *narratio*, the first objective portion of the *Klangrede* aiming to appeal to the intellect. References during the seventeenth century described imitative counterpoint as an intricate and stimulating musical form related to debate and proof;<sup>39</sup> as a result, fugal texture was considered the most complete representation of argumentation and refutation necessary for proving a case. The *narratio* fugue in Buxtehude's preludes demonstrates a straightforward contrapuntal form with entries of the fugal subject and answers in all voices, without, however, the abundance of expressive *Figuren* encountered in the *exordium*. The end of the *narratio* is usually marked by an abrupt cessation of the contrapuntal texture and the introduction of a short affective motivic passage that functions as an internal *peroratio*. In other cases, the *narratio* is followed by a short digressive section (*digressio*) that leads to a full cadence, serving as a natural transition to the *confirmatio*.<sup>40</sup>

According to Quintilian, the section that succeeded the *narratio* was the *confirmatio*, in which the orator was expected to provide proofs that supported the arguments already put forward. In Buxtehude's preludes, the *confirmatio*

<sup>37</sup> For the features of the rhetorical *exordium* according to Quintilian and Cicero, see Chapter 2 of the present work, particularly pages 91-93.

<sup>38</sup> Gorman, pp. 218-19.

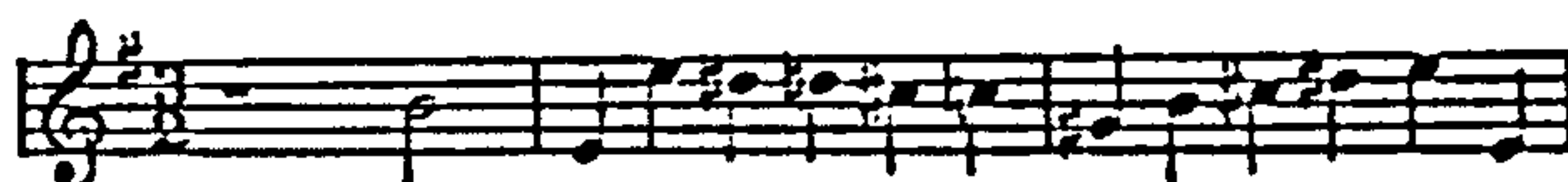
<sup>39</sup> For a discussion of fugue as a rhetorical discourse, with references to Burmeister, Kircher, Berardi, Mace, and Mattheson, see Chapter 2 of this study (pp. 114-16).

<sup>40</sup> Gorman (pp. 220-21) also demonstrates two rare instances where the *narratio* is completed within the limits of the *exordium* (Toccata in F major - BuxWV 156 - and Prelude in G major - BuxWV 157). In BuxWV 156, Gorman considers the imitative gigue texture that appears in the *exordium* not digressive in nature, but rather a *narratio* embedded within the *exordium*, since the same material is heard later on. Although this is a rare phenomenon in verbal and musical rhetoric, the present discussion will focus on the basic characteristics of Buxtehude's musical-rhetorical *dispositio*, while rare instances such as the above will be briefly explained.

is represented, like the *narratio*, by contrapuntal writing, in which the subject of the fugue is derived from the subject presented in the *narratio*.<sup>41</sup> Buxtehude's Prelude in E minor (BuxWV 142) constitutes a unique case of three fugues, where the first *confirmatio*, particularly, is thematically related to the *narratio*.



Example 43a. BuxWV 142: Prelude in E minor: *narratio* fugue



Example 43b. BuxWV 142: Prelude in E minor: *confirmatio* fugue



Example 43c. BuxWV 142: Prelude in E minor: *confirmatio* (gigue) fugue

In some instances, the relationship between the fugal subjects is less obvious, but even then, motivic material and similarities in melodic shape tend to relate the *narratio* to the *confirmatio*. In terms of texture, the *confirmatio* presents strict contrapuntal material, its length varying from one prelude to another. Moreover, *confirmatio* fugues are almost always followed by an *amplificatio* section that usually elaborates on the fugal subject through stretto-like repetitions of preceding motives. In other cases,<sup>42</sup> where the *narratio* is dispensed with, Buxtehude presents a long *confirmatio* fugue (e.g. Prelude in D major, BuxWV 139) followed by an *amplificatio* that demonstrates strong sequential and rhythmical textures (e.g. BuxWV 139), which always give way to the final *peroratio*.

<sup>41</sup> As already mentioned, the technique of fugal thematic relationship was common in seventeenth-century composers' works prior to Buxtehude, although the latter developed it more skilfully than his predecessors. Gorman has additionally proved that in Buxtehude's preludes, particular motivic and textural (melodic) techniques are common, not only for fugues in the same work, but also for fugues of different preludes in the same key. Although evidence supporting this notion is not totally convincing, one could suggest that it was in the *confirmatio* fugues that Buxtehude attempted to project the overall affect of the *Klangrede* as determined by the particular key (see Gorman, pp. 224-25).

<sup>42</sup> Such as Preludes in D major (BuxWV 139), in E major (BuxWV 141), in F major (BuxWV 144), and in A major (BuxWV 151).



The concluding section of the rhetorical discourse was the *peroratio*, in which the orator aimed at amplifying and summarizing the arguments presented in his speech, in order to win credence and excite the emotions of the audience. Exceptionally ornate language and affective rhetorical figures were considered properties indispensable to a successful *peroratio*. In accordance with the rhetorical doctrine, Buxtehude's preludes demonstrate a highly affective *peroratio*, its passionate quality being determined by an abundance of expressive musical-rhetorical figures. Just as in the rhetorical *peroratio* the speaker concluded by amplifying his arguments, the most frequently encountered type of musical *peroratio* is the one emerging from the preceding *confirmatio*. This involves a subtle intensification of textures presented in the *confirmatio*, usually including flourishing rhythmical motives strengthened by sequential repetitions.

The most dramatic type of *peroratio*, however, demonstrates an abrupt interruption of the *confirmatio*, where passionate figuration, occasionally derived from the introductory *exordium*, dominates the whole section serving as an ultimate attempt at exciting the passions of the listeners. Although internal *perorationes* could be introduced throughout the speech (e.g. the *narratio* fugue usually concludes with an internal *peroratio*), Quintilian suggested that the final one be the most dramatic. In that case, "[...] the orator should display the full strength of his case before the eyes of the judge, and, [...] dwell on those points by which he himself would be most moved were he trying the case."<sup>43</sup>

The type of *dispositio* consisting of an *exordium*, *narratio*, *confirmatio*, and *peroratio* is illustrated in Buxtehude's Prelude in A minor (BuxWV 153), one of the three surviving preludes in this key, which demonstrates a flexible and straightforward structure.<sup>44</sup> The work begins with an *exordium* of twenty-one bars presented in the same way an orator would start his speech. The first two beats of bar 1 demonstrate a semiquaver motive that is immediately repeated in bars 1-2 (*anaphoral repetitio*) and makes clear the composer's intentions: to attract the attention of the listener. The ascending motion

<sup>43</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book VI. i. 11, pp. 388-89.

<sup>44</sup> BuxWV 152 is considered Phrygian, while BuxWV 153 and BuxWV 158 are written in A minor.

demonstrated through the opening motive culminates in e" in the soprano, while successive broken chords lead to the cadence in bar 4 that establishes the tonality (A minor).

The image displays a musical score for a prelude in A minor, identified as BuxWV 153. The score is arranged in three systems, each containing three staves (Soprano, Alto, Bass) and a Pedal line. The first system covers bars 1-4, showing the initial motive and a cadence. The second system covers bars 5-8, and the third system covers bars 9-14, concluding with a final cadence. The notation includes various musical symbols such as notes, rests, and accidentals, with a 'Ped.' marking indicating the pedal part.

Example 44. BuxWV 153: Prelude in A minor: *exordium* (bars 1-14)<sup>45</sup>

The motive of bar 1 is heard again in bar 4 after the cadence, this time as a solo pedal passage, intensified by a semiquaver rest (*tnesis*) that removes the initial ascending fourth figuration (from e to a). After the pedal section, bars 5-12 demonstrate an ample use of a three-note motive (beginning with a *tnesis*) derived possibly from the broken-chord figuration encountered in bars 2-3, stressed through *ellipses*<sup>46</sup> and *syncopes* figures. Additionally, sequential repetitions of the same motive at different pitches in all voices and pedal illustrate the *polyptoton* figure, occasionally intensified by excessive leaps in the pedal (ninth and major seventh in bars 9 and 11 respectively). Finally, the arrival at A minor in bar 12 is followed by an emphatic reiteration of a sequence of motives (*anaphora*), reminiscent of figurations encountered in

<sup>45</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the examples and bar numbers given are drawn from Beckmann's edition of Buxtehude's free organ works; see Dietrich Buxtehude, *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, ed. by Klaus Beckmann, rev. edn, vol. 1, Free Organ Works: BuxWV 136-153 (18 Praeludia pedaliter) (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1997).

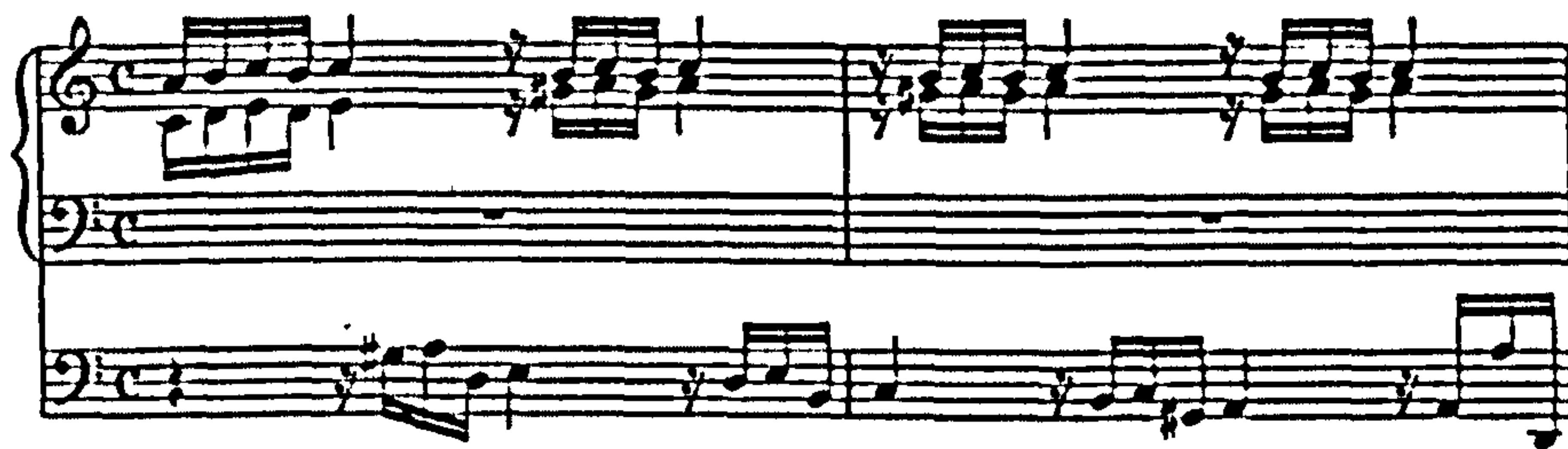
<sup>46</sup> According to Bernhard, "*ellipsis* means omission, and is the suppression of a consonance. It occurs in two ways: first, when a rest replaces the consonance and is followed by a dissonance [...] [or] when a fourth is not resolved through a third at a cadence, rather standing still [...]", in his *Ausführlicher Bericht*, Chapter 18, §§1-3, as it appears in Hilse, pp. 112-13.



Frescobaldi's toccatas (see example 45). Starting from bar 12, the soprano and alto illustrate a *climax* that culminates on the second beat of bar 13. From that point, the same voices move in semiquaver figurations modelled on repeated parallel thirds (*anaphora*), strengthened each time by a *tnesis* and accompanied by a pedal statement at different pitches (*polyptoton*). A comparison of the two following examples illustrates Frescobaldi's influence on Buxtehude's prelude. The 'dialogue' between the two manuals, as demonstrated in Frescobaldi's Toccata, is transformed into an intense conflict between manuals and pedal (BuxWV 153), where the final pedal 'answer' to the alto and the soprano culminates in a dramatic *hyperbole* (fourth beat of bar 14).



Example 45. G. Frescobaldi: Toccata in F major (bars 85-89)<sup>47</sup>

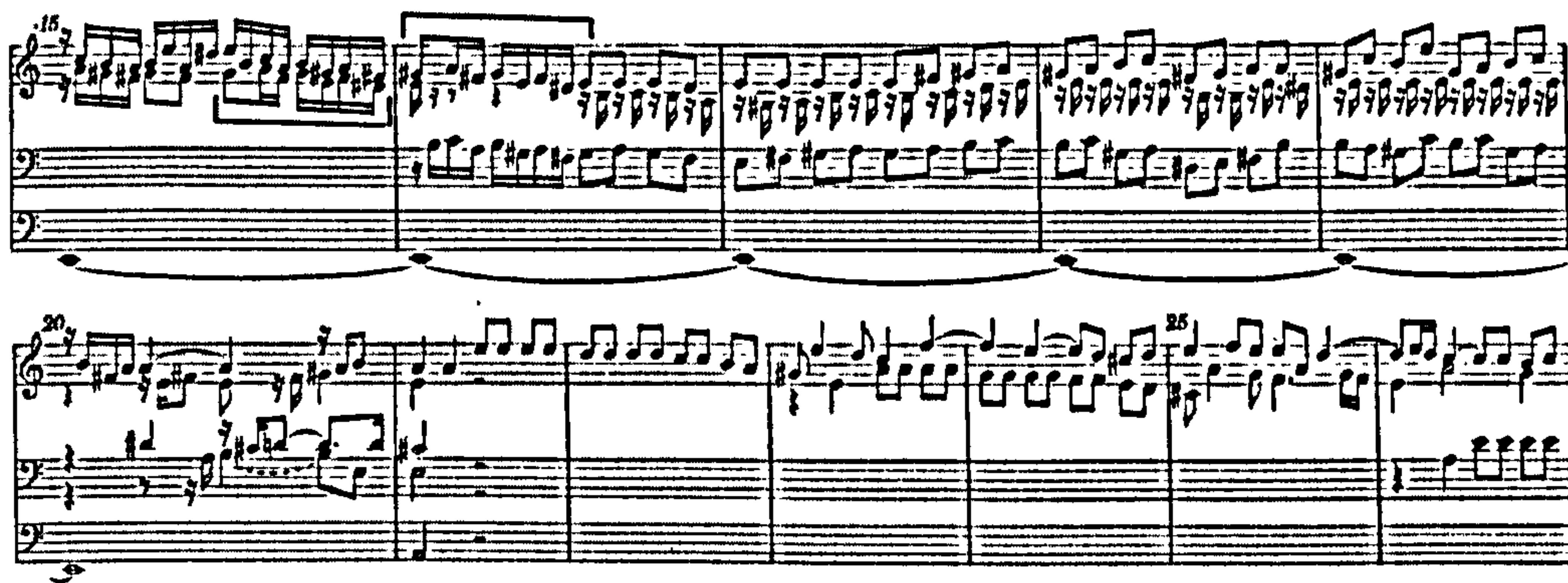


Example 46. BuxWV 153: bars 13-14 (detail)

The dramatic tension created in bars 13-14 resolves into the dominant pedal E (bar 15), which supports an inversion of the semiquaver figuration of bar 1 in the soprano and middle voice (bars 15-16), accompanied by the *anadiplosis* figure (see example 47). Motives appear in cross-relation between

<sup>47</sup> Frescobaldi, Girolamo, *Keyboard Compositions Preserved in Manuscripts*, ed. by W. R. Shindle, Corpus of Early Keyboard Music Series, no. 30, 3 vols (Rome: American Institute of Musicology, 1968), i: Toccatas; Toccata 2a (f. 56) from the collection 'Suonate d'intavolatura del Sig. Girolamo Frescobaldi', Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana (*Chigi Q IV 25*).

the voices in bar 17, where the tenor figure (e-f#-g#-a) is repeated by the soprano an octave higher (e'-f#'-g#'-a'), while the semiquavers sung by the alto (g#-a-b-c') are imitated by the tenor. Bars 18-19 display motives modelled after the preceding ones without any strong points of imitation, while the *exordium* concludes with an expressive rest (*abruptio*) and broken chords that resolve into a perfect cadence on A (bars 20-21).



Example 47. BuxWV 153: *exordium* and *narratio* (bars 15-26)

The ending of the *exordium* overlaps by one beat the entrance of the *narratio*, which is the first fugue of the work. The *narratio* subject begins with a leap of a perfect fifth (a' to e'') followed by repeated notes descending from e'' to g#'' (minor sixth) reminiscent of the Italian canzonas. The tonal answer to the subject is heard in the alto opening with a perfect fourth, the same interval that determined the opening motive of the *exordium*.



Example 48. BuxWV 153: *narratio* (bars 27-39)

The *narratio* presents a straightforward exposition of the subject with entries in all four voices, while the voice crossing between the pedal that carries the subject and the tenor in bar 30, illustrating the figure *hyperbatus* (*supergradiens*), is noteworthy. Finally, after the entrance of the theme in the



pedal, the subject is heard in an inverted form (*hypallage*) in the following twelve bars (30-42), while a real answer is also subject to inversion (40-41) before the close of the second exposition and the return of the theme to its original state (42-53). The subject enters again in the alto from bar 42 onwards with tonal answers successively in tenor (44-46) and soprano (46-48), while further entries in bass (49-51) and soprano (51-53) lead to another entrance of the inverted subject in the pedal (starting from bar 53).



Example 49. BuxWV 153: *narratio* (bars 40-53)

In contrast to the *exordium* that demonstrated a wealth of *Figuren*, the *narratio* illustrates a strict form of imitative counterpoint, in which facts (i.e. the fugal subject in all voices) are carefully structured in order to persuade the intellect. However, despite the objective character of the *narratio*, Quintilian suggested that in some instances the orator varied his figures in order to maintain the attention of the audience. On these grounds, the inversion of the fugal subject (*hypallage*), which is heard again in the pedal from bar 53 onwards, demonstrates the composer's attempt to introduce some variety into the texture. Moreover, the *antitheton* (*contrapositum*) figure constitutes an affection-arousing device (bars 57-58) where the inverted subject in the tenor, accompanied by the ascending movement of the upper voices in parallel fourths (*faux bourdon*), strongly contradicts the descending movement of the pedal (*catabasis*). The dramatic tension of bars 57-58, followed by the last inverted entrance of the subject in the soprano (bars 58-60), is released after the theme is heard in the original form in the alto (bars 60-62).



Example 50. BuxWV 153: *narratio*, *internal peroratio*, and *confirmatio* (bars 54-68)

The *narratio* is violently interrupted by an unexpected cessation of the contrapuntal texture (*abruptio rest*) marked by a weak cadence on D on the second beat of bar 64. The free section that follows for the next two and a half bars constitutes an internal *peroratio* to the *narratio*. This is strengthened by a *saltus duriusculus* (d'-g#) and an ornamental alternation of semiquavers and demisemiquavers (g#-b) in the pedal (bar 64) that can be freely interpreted in terms of performance as a *trillo longo*. The *aposiopesis rest* (first beat of bar 65) is followed by a demisemiquaver *anabasis* that reaches an octave, while the *abruptio* (third beat of the same bar) gives way to a cadence prolonged by an extension (*extensio*) in the soprano that leads to the end of the section.



Example 51. BuxWV 153: *confirmatio* (bars 69-86)

The final A major chord of the *narratio* overlaps the entrance of the *confirmatio*, represented by a fugue written in 6/4 metre,<sup>48</sup> where the subject is fashioned after the *narratio* with the addition of a chromatic motive within the

<sup>48</sup> As Gorman notes (p. 185), of the three A minor/ Phrygian preludes (BuxWV 152, 153, and 158), BuxWV 152 and 158 feature the same shift to 3/2 and 6/4 metre in the *confirmatio* fugue respectively.



descending minor sixth. The two following examples illustrate the thematic relationship between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*:



Example 52a. BuxWV 153: *narratio* subject (bars 21-23)



Example 52b. BuxWV 153: *confirmatio* answer (bars 73-75)

The *confirmatio* maintains the initial ascending fourth (e-a) that appeared in the *exordium* and formed the answer to the *narratio*, and demonstrates a straightforward development of the subject with alternate entrances on the mediant (bars 83-85) and the subtonic (bars 85-87). The *confirmatio* concludes with a perfect cadence on C major, which signifies the beginning of the *amplificatio* (bars 94-104), a section that functions as an internal *peroratio* to the *confirmatio*. Emphatic repetitions of the ascending fourth motive of the subject justify the viewing of this portion of the *Klangrede* as an amplification of already developed arguments, while the *amplificatio* concludes with a final entrance of the subject in the alto (bars 102-104).



Example 53. BuxWV 153: *confirmatio* and *amplificatio* (bars 87-104)

The prelude ends with the *peroratio*, the affective section that aims, like the *exordium*, to attract the attention of the listener. The carefully ordered *confirmatio* contradicts the improvisatory character of the *peroratio*, which features a plethora of broken manual arpeggios, scalar passages, and daring pedal motives. The *peroratio* emphasizes the subdominant D with scales and

right-hand chords (bars 108-109) that lead to bar 110, where the alternation between manual notes and chords culminates in a dramatic *aposiopesis*.



Example 54. BuxWV 153: *peroratio* (bars 105-113)

Some of the affective figures presented in the *peroratio* are reminiscent of those encountered in the introductory *exordium*, as, for instance, the pedal leaps on the third and fourth beats of bar 110, which reinforce the dramatic *aposiopesis* that dominates the manuals. Changes of texture and expressive figurations intensify the dramatic tension of the *peroratio*; for instance, the *antitheton* (*contrapositum*) in bars 111-112, although reminiscent of the *antitheton* heard in the *narratio*, receives now a different affective quality as a result of the composer's effort to excite the listener's attention.



Example 55. BuxWV 153: *peroratio* (bars 114-124)

An alternation of single notes and chords in the manuals (bar 113) is followed by the pedal in bar 114, where the left-foot pedal repeats the notes assigned to the left-hand manual in the previous bar. The pedal passage concludes with a *hyperbole* figure that resolves in the subdominant D, where, after the intervention of semiquaver motives and broken chords, the texture



shifts to 3/4 metre in bar 117. Finally, the tonic pedal is accompanied by the upper voices moving in parallel sixths (bars 117-121), leading, through a rapid scalar demisemiquaver *anabasis* (bar 122), to the final pause on A.

The multisectional toccata form, as developed by north German organ masters including D. Buxtehude, G. Böhm, and N. Bruhns, stimulated the early organ works of J. S. Bach.<sup>49</sup> Philipp Spitta<sup>50</sup> first presented the image of Dietrich Buxtehude as a father figure whose large-scale *pedaliter praeludia* survived in north German tablature sources and circulated in the inner Bach circle. The multistructural organ compositions of D. Buxtehude, who in Bach's time held one of the most prestigious organ posts at St Marienkirche in Lübeck, attracted the attention of the young Bach who, in 1706/07, undertook a long journey from Arnstadt to Lübeck "[...] in order to comprehend one thing and another about his art."<sup>51</sup> However, even before Bach's visit to Lübeck, middle, south, and north German organ works were familiar to the young composer. The so-called *Andreas-Bach* book and the *Möller Handschrift*, compiled after 1700 by Johann Sebastian's elder brother and principal keyboard teacher Johann Christoph of Ohrdruf, signify the variety of stylistically different musical materials from the 'international' spectrum to which the young virtuoso was exposed.<sup>52</sup> North German works, and particularly Buxtehude's novel approach to the multisectional *stylus*

<sup>49</sup> George B. Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes of Johann Sebastian Bach*, Studies in Musicology, 27 (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1980), p. 39.

<sup>50</sup> Philipp Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach: His Work and Influence on the Music of Germany, 1685-1750*, vol. 1, pp. 256-310.

<sup>51</sup> Christoph Wolff, 'Buxtehude, Bach, and Seventeenth-Century Music in Retrospect', p. 44. This was Bach's reply to the Arnstadt consistory in order to defend himself, when interrogated about the reasons for his prolonged absence from Arnstadt (from Advent 1705 to February 1706). See also Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 1, pp. 315-16; also Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, pp. 92-101.

<sup>52</sup> *The New Bach Reader: A Life of Johann Sebastian Bach in Letters and Documents*, ed. by Hans T. David and Arthur Mendel, rev. and enl. by Christoph Wolff (New York: Norton, 1998), p. 11. For chronological evidence regarding Bach's early organ compositions, see Friedrich Blume and Wilburn W. Newcomb, 'J. S. Bach's Youth', *The Musical Quarterly*, 54 (January 1968), 1-30. The *Andreas-Bach* book and the *Möller* manuscript are discussed in detail in the *Keyboard Music from the Andreas-Bach Book and the Möller Manuscript*, ed. by Robert Hill, Harvard Publications in Music, 16 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991). The research presented in volume 16 of the Harvard Publications is an amplified version of R. Hill's Ph.D. dissertation; see Robert Hill, 'The Möller Manuscript and the Andreas Bach Book: Two Keyboard Manuscripts from the Circle of the Young Johann Sebastian Bach' (Ph.D. dissertation), Harvard University, 1987 (UMI Microfilm No. 87-00787).

*phantasticus* toccata, were undoubtedly familiar to Bach,<sup>53</sup> who at an early compositional stage was eager to emulate the example of his predecessor. One of Bach's earliest works dating probably from c.1703/04 (before his visit to Lübeck)<sup>54</sup> and the only organ composition modelled so directly after the *dispositio* demonstrated in BuxWV 153 is the Prelude in A minor (BWV 551).

According to Spitta, this particular piece, if indeed a work by Bach, "[...] has the appearance of having been merely a reminiscence and not a new formation resulting from the assimilation of foreign elements; as if it had been written before Buxtehude's manner had become quite comprehensible, and as it were living to the composer."<sup>55</sup> BWV 551 undoubtedly dates from before Bach's E major Toccata (BWV 566), another clear example of Buxtehude's stamp on Bach's style, although certain motivic and structural differences tend to distinguish one piece from the other.<sup>56</sup> Bach's Prelude in A minor demonstrates the structure encountered in Buxtehude's *pedaliter praeludia*: introduction (*exordium*), first fugue (*narratio*), second fugue (*confirmatio*: double fugue), and free concluding section (*peroratio*). Although BWV 551 illustrates a more complicated *dispositio* with the addition of an affective section (*digressio*) between the two fugal textures, the work shows a rationally arranged multisectional plan where different textures are tightly woven within a large-scale formal design.

Just like Buxtehude's Prelude in A minor, BWV 551 commences with a free introduction (*exordium*) where Bach makes clear his intentions: to grasp the listener's attention. Manual tail-chasing passages reminiscent of Buxtehude's Prelude in G minor (BuxWV 149, see example 57) dominate the first seven bars of the *exordium*. Additionally, points of imitation between the manuals (bar 8) followed by a striking descending *saltus duriusculus* (f-g#) in

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<sup>53</sup> Karl Keller, 'Norddeutsche Musikkultur als Traditionsraum des jungen Bach', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 75 (1989), 7-19. See also Friedhelm Krummacher, 'Bach und die norddeutsche Orgeltoccata: Fragen und Überlegungen', *Bach-Jahrbuch*, 71 (1985), 119-34.

<sup>54</sup> Stauffer, pp. 100-01. According to McLean (1993), this work "[...] surely dates from Bach's return from Lübeck, and not before 1706." See Hugh J. McLean, 'BWV 551, A Bachian Orphan', in *Bach (The Journal of the Riemenschneider Bach Institute)*, 24 (1993), 35-42 (p. 37).

<sup>55</sup> Spitta, *Johann Sebastian Bach*, vol. 1, p. 319.

<sup>56</sup> Although scholars tend to consider BWV 566 the most conspicuous example of Bach's elaboration on the north German organ toccata, the rhetorical analysis presented here aims to prove that BWV 551 is more closely related to the Buxtehudian *stylus phantasticus* free prelude than the structurally different Toccata in E major. The main points of difference between the two pieces will be discussed in the following pages.



the lower voice culminate in a virtuosic pedal passage (bar 9, figure *accentus/superjectio*).



Example 56. BWV 551: Prelude in A minor: *exordium* and *narratio* (bars 1-14)<sup>57</sup>



Example 57. BuxWV 149: Prelude in G minor: *exordium* (bars 4-6)

The *accentus* in the pedal, also encountered in Bach's chorale prelude *Christ lag in Todesbanden* from the *Orgelbüchlein* (in the pedal) and in Buxtehude's *Durch Adams Fall* (in the cantus firmus), ends in a dominant pedal *c* in bars 10-11. From that point, the upper voices demonstrate a series of motives stressed through *figurae suspirans* rests, each time heard at higher pitches (*polyptoton*) and in a parallel motion, leading finally to the tonic A (bar 12).



Example 58. BWV 625: *Christ lag in Todesbanden*: *superjectio* pedal (bars 1-2)

<sup>57</sup> BWV 551 and BWV 566 are drawn from the *Neue Bach Ausgabe* of Bach's complete organ works; see Johann Sebastian Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Dietrich Kilian, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 6: Preludes, Toccatas, Fantasias and Fugues II (Kassel: Bärenreiter Verlag, 1964).





The cadence on C major that signifies the end of the *narratio* gives way to a short affective section (bars 29-31) functioning (as is the fashion with Buxtehude's preludes) as an internal *peroratio* following the *narratio*. However, the internal *peroratio* does not employ any of the quaver and semiquaver elements presented already; rather, it introduces improvisatory rhythmical patterns that contradict the preceding fugal section and establish the C major key (repeated C major chords in bars 29-31). Starting with a *figura suspirans*, bar 29 introduces a basic motive that is heard in the two following statements at higher pitches (*polyptoton*). Furthermore, a melodic embellishment in bar 31, intensified by a *figura suspirans*, demonstrates a *tirata mezza* (beats 2-3: ascending b'-e'') and a *tirata defectiva* (beats 3-4: descending interval e''-f#') figures; these are followed by a demisemiquaver ascending ornament that brings the free section to a deceptive conclusion.



Example 61. BWV 551: *narratio* and *internal peroratio* (bars 23-31)

The third section of the prelude displays a free chordal interlude that demonstrates a digressive content compared to the parts preceding and following it. The free texture is cut off abruptly and a homophonic segment, named in rhetorical terms *noema*, appears as an intermediate step that bridges the two fugues within the *Klangrede*. In BWV 551, the *noema* signifies a *digressio*, a rhetorical deviation Quintilian suggested the orator employed occasionally in his discourse in order to link the *narratio* (statement of facts) to the *confirmatio* (proofs).<sup>58</sup> Joachim Burmeister first described *noema* as a homophonic passage in the middle of a composition that was in sharp contrast

<sup>58</sup> For the rhetorical definition of the *digressio* according to Quintilian, see Chapter 2 of the present work, pp. 95-96.

to the surrounding contrapuntal texture.<sup>59</sup> Bold chromaticism and suspensions apparent in the *noema* under discussion (bars 32-39) are reminiscent of figurations encountered in toccatas by Frescobaldi, which in most cases call for the elaboration of the passage with ornamental figures. North German organ works, such as those by Bruhns and Buxtehude, usually incorporate similar homophonic sections; Buxtehude's Prelude in D major (BuxWV 139), for instance, demonstrates a *noema* immediately after the *confirmatio*, yet its function in that particular work is different to the one encountered in BWV 551.<sup>60</sup>



Example 62. BWV 551: *digressio* and *confirmatio* (bars 32-46)

The *digressio* closes on the dominant E and gives way to the *confirmatio* section, which is represented in BWV 551 by a double fugue (*metalepsis* or *transumptio*).<sup>61</sup> In Bach's A minor prelude there is no clear relationship between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio* fugal subjects (something usually encountered in Buxtehude's works); there are, however, certain common thematic elements that link the two fugal sections. Bach presents the two themes simultaneously in the first two bars of the *confirmatio*, making use of motives that appeared in the *narratio* (bars 39-40). The first subject (subject A) enters in the soprano and consists of three descending crotchets that outline the A minor triad (e"-c"-a') followed by an ascending *passus duriusculus* reminiscent of the *narratio* quaver motive f'-f#"; the second subject (subject B) is composed of semiquaver figurations, of which the first one (f'-c'-f'-c')

<sup>59</sup> Bartel, p. 340.

<sup>60</sup> Since BuxWV 139 is one of the rare cases where Buxtehude presents one long *confirmatio* fugue, the *noema* in that case is considered a free affective section that concludes the *confirmatio*.

<sup>61</sup> For a discussion of the rhetorical *metalepsis*, see Chapter 2 of the present work, page 129.



has similar elements to the motive presented in the *narratio* (a"-e"-a"-g"). In other words, Bach maintains the basic thematic material from the first fugue, which he applies to two separate subjects in the *confirmatio*.



Example 63a. BWV 551: *confirmatio*, bars 39-40 (subject A)



Example 63b. BWV 551: *confirmatio*, bars 39-40 (subject B)

Although the texture of this fugue is essentially for four voices, more than three are rarely heard at once (with the exception of bars 44, 48, 49, 51, 57, 60, and 62-63). After the introduction of the two subjects in the soprano and alto (bars 39-40) the first exposition ends in bar 47 after the two themes have entered in each voice. Short episodes follow subjects A and B in bars 47-48, 52, 54, 56, and 58-59, where the semiquaver four-note figure appears in its *narratio* shape, occasionally repeated at a different pitch. Bach presents a complex blend of motives from the first fugue, but elaborates on them contrapuntally by setting them against the two *confirmatio* subjects, maintaining a strong link between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*. The thematic cross-reference of bar 47 is more intense in bars 53-54, where the two themes (in the alto and the tenor) lead into an alternating succession of the *narratio* motives at different pitches, while the abrupt breaking off of voices in bars 45 and 51 perhaps shows Bach's inexperience in this early work.



Example 64. BWV 551: *confirmatio* (bars 47-54)

The last pair of entries occurs in bars 60-61, where the soprano introduces subject A while the alto carries an incomplete version of subject B. Bars 61-62 demonstrate a short episode consisting of semiquaver and quaver material derived from the two subjects, accompanied by similar figurations in the pedal that lead to the end of the *confirmatio* and the beginning of the *amplificatio* (bars 62-63).



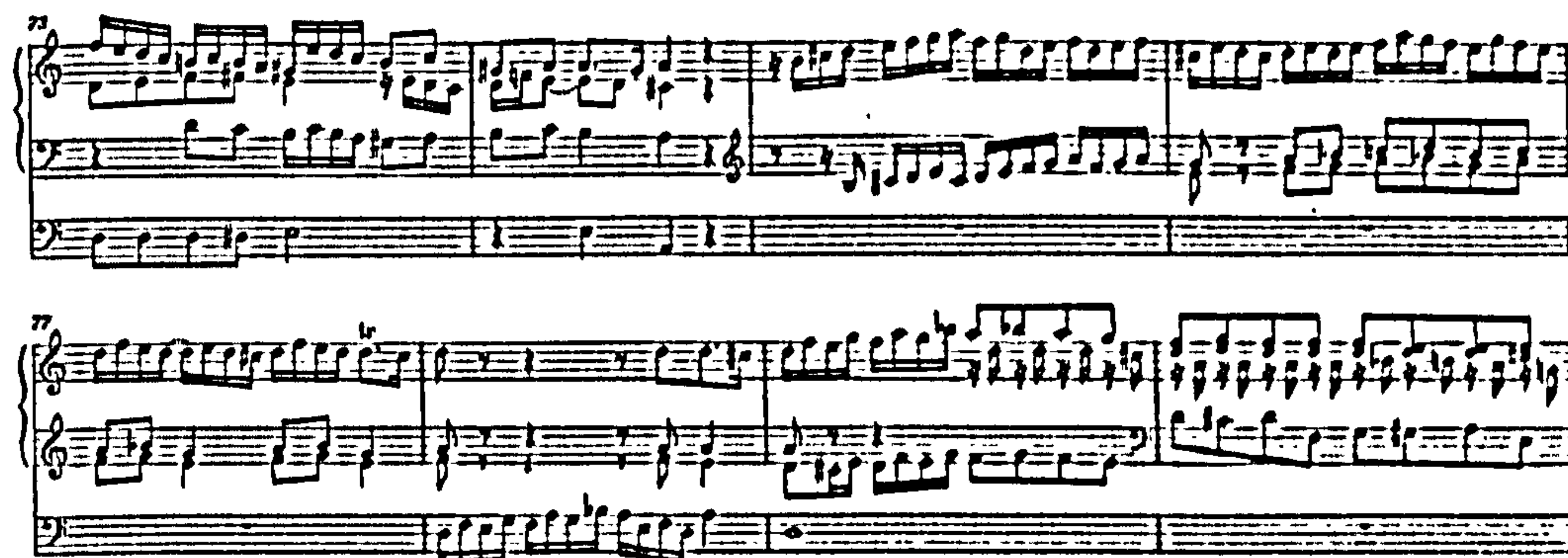
Example 65. BWV 551: *confirmatio* and *amplificatio* (bars 55-64)

The modulation and cadence on C minor in bars 62-63 (an unusual shift for a piece in A minor) signifies the beginning of the *amplificatio*, in which Bach applies alternating emphatic stretto repetitions of the basic thematic material in four voices. The section stands out clearly as an *amplificatio*, since the four-note semiquaver fragment (subject B) and the chromatic quaver motive (subject A) are combined in one subject. There are two sets of four entries of the new subject on the manuals, and a third one concluding with the pedal. The first one occurs in bars 62-65, while in the second (bars 65-68) the soprano demonstrates an elaborate repetition of the semiquaver figure before shifting to the ascending *passus duriusculus* that cadences on G minor (bars 67-68). The third set of entries occurs in bars 69-73 closing with the pedal entrance in bar 72 that marks the end of the *amplificatio*.



Example 66. BWV 551: *amplificatio* (bars 65-72)





Example 67. BWV 551: *amplificatio* and *peroratio* (bars 73-80)

The *amplificatio* concludes with a perfect cadence in bar 74 signifying the beginning of the *peroratio*, the final affective section of the *Klangrede*, which, just as in BuxWV 153, emphasizes the subdominant D as a plagal cadence. Affective gestures, such as rapid scalar passages (bars 75-77) in the manuals, recall those encountered in the *exordium*, strengthened by repeated chords (bar 77, *anaphora*) that end in a cadence on the subdominant (bar 78). The manual texture suddenly breaks off (bar 78, *abruptio/ aposiopesis*) with the pedal introducing intervals of ascending thirds leading to another stronger cadence on D minor. In bar 79 the soprano imitates the first two beats of the pedal motive of the previous bar (*anaphora*), while broken chords in the manuals (recalling Buxtehude's A minor *peroratio*) and virtuosic pedal figuration (bar 82) prepare the way for the final plagal cadence in the last seven bars of the *peroratio*.



Example 68. BWV 551: *peroratio* (bars 81-89)

The arrival at the subdominant D in the pedal is reinforced by affective *abruptio* rests in bars 83-84, creating a dramatic intensity before the parallel improvisatory semiquaver and demisemiquaver gestures. The parallel sixths between the upper voices in bar 85 are repeated in bar 86 (*anaphora*), while

expressive *figurae suspirans* (bar 88) followed by brief improvisatory manual passages signify the conclusion of the *peroratio* on an A major chord.

To summarize, both BuxWV 153 and BWV 551 are modelled on the structure of the rhetorical *dispositio*. The *Klangrede* is framed by the affective *exordium* and *peroratio* that aim to excite the listener’s attention, while the objective *narratio* and *confirmatio* are illustrated with two fugues that bear strong thematic and textural relationships. Although in Buxtehude’s preludes the subject of the *confirmatio* is clearly derived from the material presented in the *narratio*, in Bach’s A minor prelude the connection between the objective portions of the *Klangrede* is based on motivic relationships. In the *narratio* the basic motives are presented and developed in a ‘conservative’ counterpoint, while in the *confirmatio* Bach elaborates on them in a more complex way. This is accomplished through a double fugue (*metalepsis*), whose subjects are modelled on the properties of the *narratio*, as well as through thematic cross-references that tend to link closely the *narratio* to the *confirmatio*. The connection between the two sections is further facilitated through the intervention of the *digressio*, a short affective chordal segment (*noema*) Bach inserts immediately after the end of the *narratio* and before the beginning of the *confirmatio*. This falls in line with J. Burmeister’s definition of the *noema* as a homophonic section within a contrapuntal texture that stimulates the listener’s attention due to its contrasting nature. The rhetorical structure of the two preludes is illustrated in the following tables:

Section	<i>Exordium</i>	<i>Narratio</i>	Internal <i>Peroratio</i>	<i>Confirmatio</i>	<i>Amplificatio</i>	<i>Peroratio</i>
Bars	1-21	21-64	64-67	67-94	94-104	105-124
Texture	Free	Fugue	Free	Fugue	Stretto	Free

Table 3. Buxtehude’s Prelude in A minor (BuxWV 153): rhetorical structure

Section	<i>Exordium</i>	<i>Narratio</i>	Internal <i>Peroratio</i>	<i>Digressio</i>	<i>Confirmatio</i>	<i>Amplificatio</i>	<i>Peroratio</i>
Bars	1-12	12-28	29-31	32-39	39-63	63-74	75-89
Texture	Free	Fugue	Free	Chordal ( <i>Noema</i> )	Double Fugue	Stretto	Free

Table 4. Bach’s Prelude in A minor (BWV 551): rhetorical structure



The structure encountered in BWV 551 makes plausible the assumption that Bach composed this work in his early youth (1703/04), before his trip to Lübeck in 1705/06. The Prelude in A minor, one of Bach's earliest free organ works, demonstrates a disposition not encountered elsewhere in his organ music, and can be successfully analysed as a *Klangrede*. The structural elements of the north German organ toccata are prominent in BWV 551, and one can speculate that this work might have been among those Bach carried with him to show to Buxtehude; these were probably "[...] compositions that ventured to measure up to their model."<sup>62</sup>

If the Prelude in A minor demonstrates Bach's efforts to imitate the style of his predecessor before he became fully acquainted with it, the Toccata in E major (BWV 566)<sup>63</sup> displays a more mature version of the Buxtehudian manner as comprehended by the young Bach. This work, which dates from around 1706/07, confirms the overall multisectional design discussed already in BuxWV 153 and BWV 551; however, structural elements reflect an advanced compositional style in an era when the toccata-form was fading away. Although in the E major Toccata the *dispositio* displays an *exordium*, *narratio* (first fugue), *digressio* (free interlude), *confirmatio* (second fugue), and *peroratio*, the texture is more meticulously worked out and clear-cut cadences distinctly separate the contrasting sections. The contrapuntal writing, as demonstrated in the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*, is well developed, thematic expositions and episodic materials are carefully balanced, while the proportions of the fugues exceed by far those encountered in BuxWV 153 and BWV 551. Although in BWV 566 Bach chose to display a different style of toccata that surpassed technically the ones by Buxtehude, certain elements of the north German style are still prominent (thematic variation), while striking rhetorical figures testify to the function of the work as an affective *Klangrede*.

We shall assume in the following discussion that the toccata was originally written in E major. The work commences with a long *exordium*

<sup>62</sup> Christoph Wolff, *Johann Sebastian Bach: The Learned Musician*, p. 97.

<sup>63</sup> This work has been also handed down in C major. The original version was probably in E major and was later transposed down a third in order to facilitate the awkward pedal solo (bars 8-11) and to avoid the remote keys (C# minor, G# minor, and F# minor) to which the E major version modulates in bars 13-22. For an extended discussion of the possible original version of the piece, copyists, and manuscripts, see Keller, *The Organ Works of Bach*, p. 74; also Stauffer, pp. 40-41, and Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, pp. 159-60.

(thirty-three bars) whose structure displays an excellent interpretation of the *stylus phantasticus*, as defined by Mattheson: “sometimes fast, sometimes slow; sometimes with one, sometimes with many voice parts; also sometimes a little behind the beat; without meter.”<sup>64</sup> The first part of the *exordium* (bars 1-4) is a flourishing monophonic gesture built on the E major tonic triad that captures the listener’s attention through improvisatory figurations characterised by asymmetry in accentuation. This is followed by an imposing polyphonic section (bars 5-8) dominated by expressive suspensions, a stylistic feature of *organo pleno* sound that establishes the tonality through the double tonic pedal. This chordal passage with its rich harmonics leads to bar 8, where Bach introduces a solo pedal part ranging widely over the pedalboard from E to c#’ and back again (bars 8-12), calling for a rhythmical flexibility in performance “a little behind the beat; without meter.”<sup>65</sup>



Example 69. BWV 566: Toccata in E major: *exordium* (bars 1-14)

In bars 13-22 the harmonic texture modulates to more remote tonalities, which would create harsh effects on an unequal-temperament organ of the early eighteenth century. After an unexpected turn in bar 13, the harmony shifts to the relative C# minor in bars 13-15 and then to its dominant G# minor (bar 16), a key Bach further explores through the secondary dominant

<sup>64</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 217.

<sup>65</sup> *ibid.*, p. 217.



of the dominant of G# minor (D# minor) on the first beat of bar 17 and the second beat of bar 18. Such daring modulations with rich effects illustrate the *pathopoeia*, a figure occurring when chromatic motives and semitones that do not belong to the original *modus* of the composition are inserted in such a fashion that no one remains unmoved by the aroused affection.<sup>66</sup> After G# minor the texture returns to the relative C# minor (bars 19-20), and finally after a short modulation to F# minor in bars 21-22 the *exordium* shifts to the original E major (c#'-f#'-a': supertonic of E major, fourth beat of bar 22).



Example 70. BWV 566: *pathopoeia* (bars 15-24)

Bars	1-12	13-15	16-18	19-20	21-22	23-24
Keys	E major	C# minor	G# minor	C# minor	F# minor	E major

Table 5. BWV 566: *pathopoeia* as demonstrated through modulations

The affection-oriented character of the *exordium* is also confirmed in the following ten bars starting from bar 24, where Bach inserts a sequence illustrating the *auxesis (incrementum)* figure. The passage appearing on the two final beats of bar 24 is heard three times (bars 25-26) with each successive statement at a higher level creating the sense of an increasing intensity. This resolves into the tonic (bar 27), where the texture gives way to more affective figures that contradict the rising sequence created in the previous bars. The semiquaver motive on the first two beats of bar 28 gives rise to the *polyptoton* through three emphatic statements of the initial figure at different pitches. The sense of descending motion created by the manuals is intensified by the pedal, where the repetition of the pedal motive (bars 28-29) at lower pitches ends in bar 29, where the new motive begins. The last

<sup>66</sup> Bartel, pp. 359-62.

statement of the manual passage (beats 3-4 of bar 29) becomes the beginning of another expressive figuration, the *paronomasia*; the motive b'-c#"-d#"-e" (bar 29) is heard three consecutive times resolving each time into different scale degrees (tonic-submediant-tonic-supertonic seventh), strengthened by the descending pedal line c#-B-A in bars 30-31. The last statement of the manual motive (bar 31), stressed by an *extensio* in the soprano and followed by suspensions in the chords in the penultimate bar, leads to the conclusion of the *exordium*.



Example 71. BWV 566: *exordium* (bars 25-33)

In contrast to the *exordia* encountered so far, the E major one is a complete, autonomous section that could easily qualify as an independent prelude. The final chord signifies the end of a long introduction, which, in contrast to BuxWV 153 and BWV 551, does not overlap the beginning of the *narratio*. The first fugue following the *exordium* is a contrapuntal composition of eighty-nine bars - an unusual length if compared to Buxtehude's *narrationes* - without an internal *peroratio* following it.<sup>67</sup> The long subject of the *narratio* (five bars) is a typical north German canzona-like theme reminiscent of Buxtehude's *narrationes* (BuxWV 148), formed on elements presented earlier in the *exordium*. The first fragment of the *narratio* is possibly modelled on the improvisatory gesture of the second beat of the *exordium* (see example 72), while the semiquaver motives of the subject recall the pedal motive that appeared in the *exordium* in bar 27 (see the following examples).

<sup>67</sup> Due to the dimensions of the fugue, the musical examples presented here will illustrate only some of the most affective parts of the *narratio*, while in other cases the reader might need to consult the full score.



Example 72. BWV 566: *exordium*, bars 1-2 (detail)Example 73. BWV 566: *exordium*, bars 27-29 (detail)Example 74. BWV 566: *narratio* subject, bars 34-36 (detail)

Such a thematic derivation technique is also encountered in Buxtehude's Prelude in A minor, where the opening interval of the ascending fourth (c-a) in the manuals anticipated the thematic material for the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*. In the *narratio* under discussion (E major), the semiquavers following the initial quavers of the subject illustrate successive *groppo* figures in which the first and the third notes are the same. Since the appearance of such a figure in the pedal would be awkward for a performance practice that favoured the alternate-toes pedal technique, the *narratio* theme is subject to alteration. Consequently, the semiquavers of the subject receive a different shape: that is, the one encountered earlier in the *exordium*. It is very likely that the initial pedal motive of the *exordium* provided a good solution for the adaptation of the *groppo* figure in the pedal. The following example illustrates this point (compare with example 73):

Example 75. BWV 566: *narratio* pedal, bars 49-52 (detail)

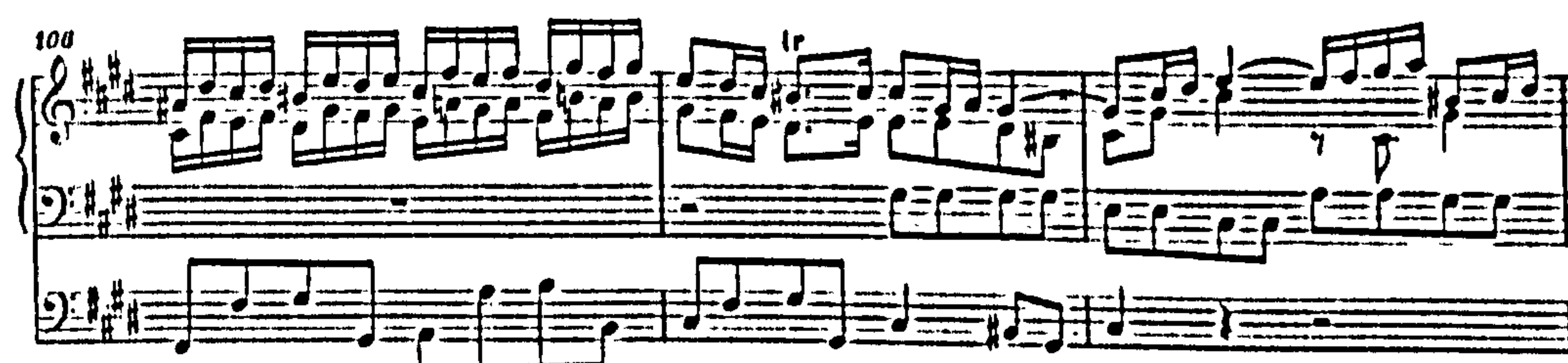
Compared to the *narratio* of the A minor prelude (BWV 551), the *narratio* in E major shows a carefully worked-out contrapuntal texture, with entries of the subject in four voices always followed by the countersubject. The exposition ends in bar 52, while short episodic interludes (bars 52-53 and 58-59) - based on material from the subject with points of imitation - lead to further entries; in these cases, two voices, the soprano and the pedal (bars 53-

57) and the tenor and the alto (bars 60-64), carry the subject and the countersubject respectively. Although the E major *narratio* surpasses the A minor one in terms of harmony, entries of the subject are only on E and B (the subject is heard in B major in bars 89-93), with the exception of bars 107-111, where the theme appears in the relative C# minor. In such an extended *narratio* it was inevitable that Bach would introduce an element of contrast in order to maintain the listener's attention. The alteration of the pedal subject (example 75) falls in line with Quintilian's doctrine, according to which the orator was free to employ variety in his arguments in order to relieve tedium of his speech.



Example 76. BWV 566: *narratio*: *auxesis* figure (bars 69-71)

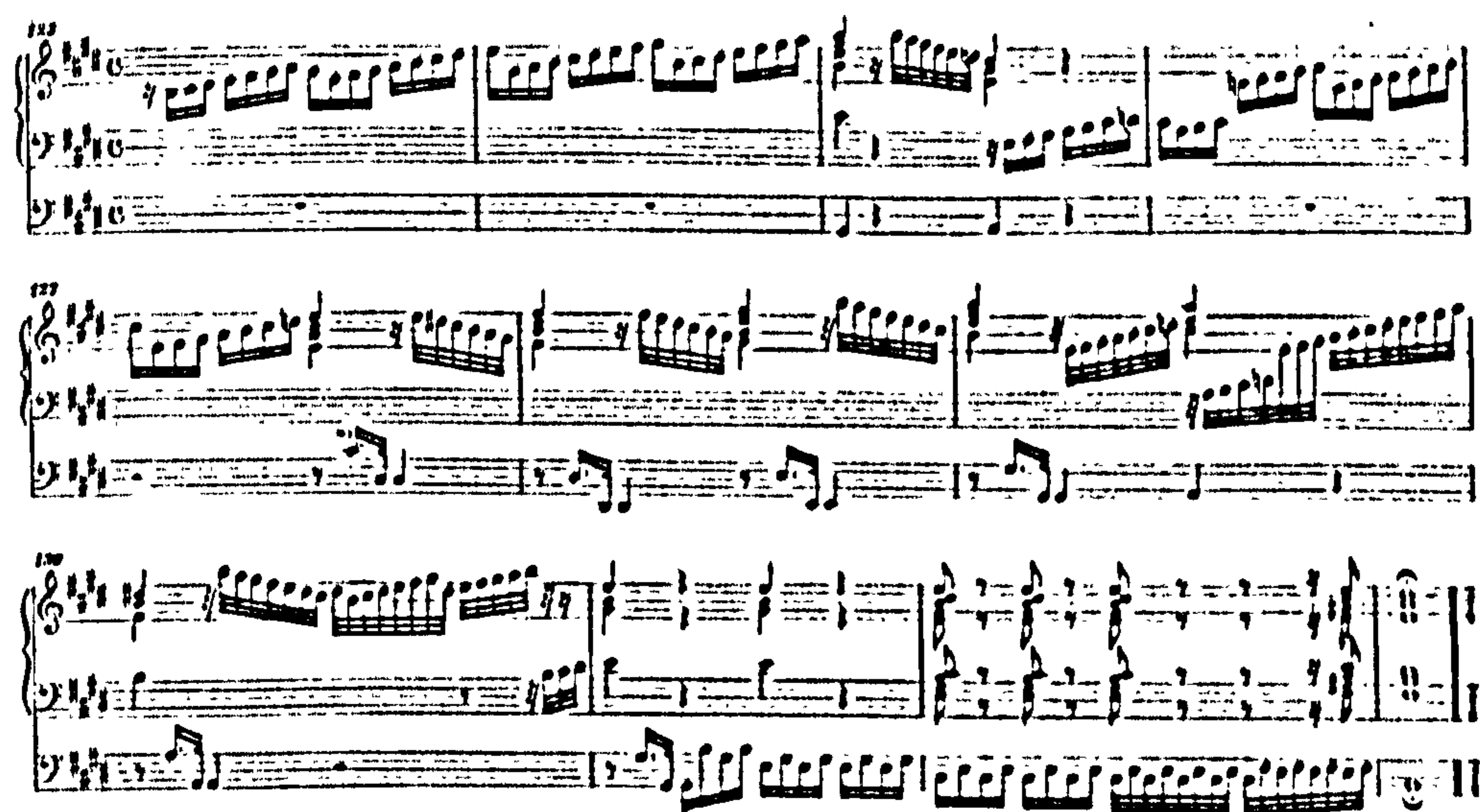
Despite the objective character of the *narratio*, Quintilian suggested also that the orator should occasionally introduce affective gestures into his discourse. Two separate episodes illustrate an expressive figuration Bach applies a couple of bars before the entrance of the subject on the tonic and the relative C# minor respectively. The *auxesis* (*incrementum*) is demonstrated twice, the first time in bars 69-71, where there is an immediate and intense repetition of two semiquaver motives presented by the alto and the soprano in an ascending progression (see also the *auxesis* in the *exordium*, bars 24-26). The second time (bars 106-107), the *auxesis* receives a more expressive character. The inherent dramatic tension of the figure is demonstrated by the same voices moving, this time simultaneously, in ascending parallel sixths, accompanied by a similar pedal movement that finally leads to C# minor, where the subject enters.



Example 77. BWV 566: *narratio*: *auxesis* figure (bars 106-108)



The *narratio* concludes without the intervention of an affective section (internal *peroratio*), but is followed immediately by a quasi-improvisatory passage, the *digressio* (bars 123-133). Although short, the *digressio* creates a strong contrast to the tightly organised *narratio* and illustrates a plethora of affective gestures, all justifying the function of this portion of the *Klangrede* as a *stylus phantasticus* passage. Additionally, although its character is totally different from that of the *digressio* of BWV 551, the section functions as a transitory part between the two fugues, preparing the way for the *confirmatio* that follows. The style of the *digressio* hints at the north German *organo pleno* toccata tradition (as does the *exordium*), through imposing figurations such as ascending and descending passages (*anabasis*, *catabasis*) that start off the beat. Dramatic *salti simplici* (octave leaps) in the pedal intensify the improvisatory character of the section, as well as the awkward pedal figurations in bars 131-132, interpreted as an extended version of a *trillo longo* that ends in the dominant.



Example 78. BWV 566: *digressio* (bars 123-133)

The dominant B major chord that closes the *digressio* is carried forward on the first beat of the *confirmatio*, the penultimate section of the Toccata. The subject of the second fugue, written in 3/4 metre, is linked to that of the *narratio* (only the beginning of the *narratio* fugue is transformed), but with rhythmical alterations. In contrast to the *narratio*, in which fugal texture was meticulously developed and episodes and thematic entries were carefully balanced, the *confirmatio* illustrates a flowing fugue of loose contrapuntal

writing. The exposition features four equally spaced entries on E and B that occupy bars 134-149, while a further entry in the tenor in bars 151-154 cadences briefly in C# minor (bars 153-154).



Example 79. BWV 566: *confirmatio* (bars 134-144)

Two middle entries on the dominant B major in bars 157-160 and 165-168 are separated by a short episode (160-164) that grows out of the material of the countersubject. Of these two dominant entries it is worth noticing that the one in bars 165-168 cadences in the relative G# minor, a procedure encountered earlier in the subject entry in the tenor (151-154). The last 'original' entrance of the subject on the tonic is heard in the pedal (172-175), accompanied by a series of imitative semiquaver motives that lead to another toccata-like episode until the next subject entry.



Example 80. BWV 566: *confirmatio* (bars 165-179)

Although the *confirmatio* of BWV 566 differs strongly from the one encountered in Bach's A minor prelude, certain features can be mentioned about its structure, which justifies it as a confirmation of the already presented elements, yet in a different version. The section displays an alternation of virtuosic episodes and strettos, in which the theme is subject to variation, as already shown in bars 165-168 where the subject, although heard on the dominant, ended in the relative G# minor. A similar case is also encountered in bars 182-186 in which the soprano and tenor carry a rhythmically modified

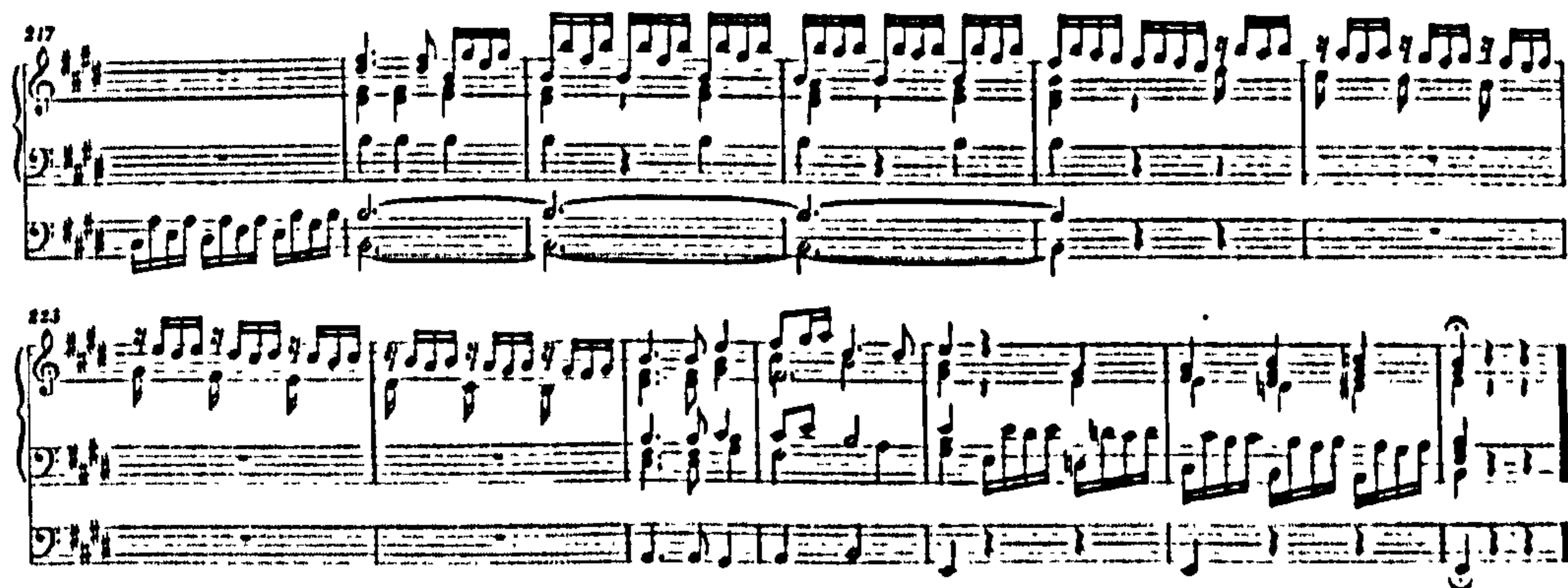


version of the subject (*paronomasia*), just as Quintilian advised the orator to vary his arguments in order to convince his audience of the facts put forward.



Example 81. BWV 566: *confirmatio* and *peroratio* (bars 206-216)

The alteration of the subject (bars 182-185) shifts the harmonic texture to C# minor (closing in bar 188 with a perfect cadence), while the following seventeen bars demonstrate a long improvisatory episode until the last entrance of the theme in bars 206-209. The first part of the episode (bars 188-197) is partially based on quaver materials grown out of the countersubject; these gradually give way to sequential semiquaver motives (bars 198-200) that intensify the harmonic rhythm, culminating finally in rapid scalar demisemiquavers. The dramatic tension created through the episode leads to the last, altered entry of the subject, accompanied by a series of semiquavers in the top voice that carry on until the end of the *confirmatio* (bar 214).



Example 82. BWV 566: *peroratio* (bars 217-229)

After bar 214, where only the *caput* of the subject is heard for the last time in the pedal, the *confirmatio* leads to the *peroratio*, which emerges smoothly from the preceding section, displaying a continuation of the semiquavers that dominated the last nine bars (206-215). The pedal section

hints at the *exordium* pedal passage, yet in a simplified version, culminating in the double dominant pedal (bars 218-221); from that point onwards, the *peroratio* suddenly turns into a chordal texture accompanied by improvisatory and imposing semiquaver arpeggios. Bars 218 and 225 demonstrate paraphrased versions of the first fragment of the subject, while the toccata closes with a flourish of bold harmonies and a descending left-hand figuration that lead to the tonic.

To summarize, as shown so far, the Toccata in E major maintains the basic features of the north German formal model, but displays a textural control and a carefully shaped structure encountered neither in Buxtehude's preludes nor in BWV 551. While Bach's Prelude in A minor (BWV 551) demonstrated an exact *mimesis* of the Buxtehudian style, BWV 566 exceeds by far the dimensions of the traditional toccata in terms of both harmonic activity and contrapuntal development. In the E major Toccata all sections have received a meticulously rounded form with regard to size and independence, and it does not come as a surprise that a manuscript copy by Kittel contains only the introduction and the first fugue as a Prelude & Fugue pair.<sup>68</sup>

Despite these structural differences, the overall design of BWV 566 is modelled after the rhetorical *dispositio*. The work commences with a long but affective *exordium*, in which expressive figures (*pathopoeia*, *auxesis*) aim to excite the passions of the listeners. The statement of the case, the *narratio*, is represented by an unusually long fugue where contrapuntal writing alternates with carefully worked out affective figures, which intensify the harmonic progression and "[...] relax the strain of attention."<sup>69</sup> Although the fugue concludes without an internal *peroratio*, Bach turns out to be once more an advocate of the Buxtehudian style by placing a digressive section as a link between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio*. Scalar figures and improvisatory pedal passages dominate the *digressio*, which, just like the other parts of the toccata, is built as a separate section intended to drive the listeners' attention "[...] to some pleasant and attractive topic with a view to securing the utmost

<sup>68</sup> Stauffer, p. 41.

<sup>69</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. ii. 118, pp. 114-15.



amount of favour [...].”<sup>70</sup> The dramatic tension created within the *digressio* leads to the *confirmatio*, a long section whose structure does not resemble that of examples by Buxtehude. The *confirmatio* displays a thematically modified version of the *narratio*, yet in a less contrapuntally and more toccata-style writing, where counterpoint and free episodic material blend in an unusually complex fashion. This generates entries of the subject without regular answers, stretto-like and occasionally altered thematic repetitions that either directly or subtly strengthen the initial arguments, while improvisatory passages hint more at a free fugal style than strict imitative counterpoint. While Buxtehude would employ a formal fugue followed by an *amplificatio* with emphatic stretto repetitions, Bach’s *confirmatio* combines elements of fantasy and counterpoint in a unique rhetoric demonstrating one of the last examples of the seventeenth-century toccata type.

Taking into account the rules of rhetoric,<sup>71</sup> and since Quintilian would have focused more on proofs and arguments presented in the *confirmatio*, the precise determination of the rhetorical function of the second fugue in E major is rather problematic. In this section, the amount of free material seems to be out of proportion to the fugal, an unusual symmetry for a *confirmatio*, which tends to demonstrate a strong piece of counterpoint. In this respect, the proofs of the case seem to have little importance, and the appearance of affective material within the *confirmatio* may appear as part of a scenario intended to support weak arguments through the impassioned appeals of the free passages. As a result, despite the insubstantial evidence provided, the listeners would be moved by the orator’s eloquence, whose “[...] appeal to the emotions will do more, for it will make them wish [the] case to be better. And what they wish, they will also believe.”<sup>71</sup> In other words, the content of the speech might be inconsequential, but the proofs put forward and the affective surrounding materials are demonstrated in such a fashion that, if persuasion is the intent of the orator, Bach’s Toccata in E major stands out as an affective *Klangrede*.

Although BWV 566 demonstrates a structurally different version of the north German organ toccata, Buxtehude’s compositional style and methods are also encountered in the organ works of his pupil, Nicolaus Bruhns. Bruhns

<sup>70</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. iii. 1-2, pp. 122-23.

<sup>71</sup> *ibid.*, Book VI. ii. 5, pp. 418-19.

(1665-1697) in his short life composed four *praeludia* (more correctly labelled 'toccatas') modelled after his teacher's techniques, all excellent samples of the *stylus phantasticus*. His toccatas equal those by Buxtehude in style and structure by displaying tossed-together sections of contrasting rhythms, series of virtuosic improvisatory fragments, and passages in fugal style. Bruhns's organ works show a synthesis of different musical-cultural agents. Features such as the echo techniques encountered in his extensive chorale fantasia *Nun komm, der heiden Heiland* stem from the echo fantasias of Sweelinck, in whose works the dramatic Italian vocal style was combined with the English virginal music tradition. Furthermore, extended sections intended for solo and double pedal recall Vincent Lübeck's technical brilliance, while *imitatio violistica* passages hint at Bruhns's dexterity as a violin player.<sup>72</sup>

Of his four toccatas composed for the organ, the long E minor one displays an advanced form of the loose multisectional style encountered in Buxtehude's free *praeludia*. In this work, dynamic nuances in preludial and fugal textures are strengthened by the influence of unaccompanied violin playing, while unexpected changes of style and tempo in different sections surprise the listener and create a dramatic effect.

In terms of contrapuntal elaboration, Bruhns follows Buxtehude's fugal technique in regard to repeated-note canzona-like subjects (G major prelude) and countersubjects (E minor prelude). Moreover, where there are two fugues within the same work, thematic variation is usually combined with metrical transformation, as for instance, the appearance of a 12/8 *confirmatio* gigue fugue in the Toccata in E minor that recalls similar sections encountered earlier.

Under these terms, one could consider the eloquent structural changes an illustration of the rhetorical *dispositio*, since the alternation of dissimilar sections denotes the composer's intentions to model his *Klangrede* after the rhetorical counterpart. The work commences with an improvisatory *exordium*, which from the first bar aims to pique the listener's attention. Dramatic

<sup>72</sup> Hugh J. McLean, 'Bruhns, Nicolaus', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. by S. Sadie and J. Tyrrell, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn, 29 vols (London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd, 2001), iv, pp. 492-93. See also G. B. Sharp, 'Nicolaus Bruhns', in *The Musical Times*, 107 (August 1966), 677-80.



semiquaver gestures with chromatic inflections and “ingenious turns”<sup>73</sup> point to virtuosic violin bowing in the first five bars ending in a triple trill over a tonic pedal E. The time signature changes to 18/16 in bar 6, where the texture displays agitated semiquavers with motivic repetitions strengthened by chains of chromatic figurations in the soprano (bars 9-10) over the same tonic pedal.



Example 83. N. Bruhns: Prelude in E minor: *exordium* (bars 1-8)<sup>74</sup>

The texture suddenly changes in bar 11, where the time signature returns to the original 4/4 metre and a short series of chords intensified by an expressive *abruptio* shift the harmony to the subdominant A minor. Ascending parallel scales (*anabasis*) on the fourth beat of bar 12 lead to a gigue-style section in 12/8 metre determined by quavers moving in parallel sixths and tenths (bars 13-15). The texture shifts back to 4/4 in bar 16, where broken chords and affective *tirata* figures in the soprano (bars 16-17) are built over the subdominant pedal. The *exordium* concludes with a general *aposiopesis* in bar 18 strengthened by a pedal A#, leading to a perfect cadence on E in bar 20.

Since the different textures within the *exordium* are too short to be considered separate units - one could easily speak about digressions -, they actually function as intensifications of the opening material in a more affective vocabulary within a plagal cadence (I-IV-I). The harmony of bar 11 demonstrates a short affective chromatic figure in the soprano, but what is most striking is the melodic tritone stated by the pedal (bar 11, d-G#) and the soprano (bars 11-12, d"-g#"). The improvisatory *anabasis* scales in bar 12 lead

<sup>73</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 217.

<sup>74</sup> Nicolaus Bruhns (1665-1697), *Sämtliche Orgelwerke*, herausgegeben von Klaus Beckmann (Wiesbaden: Breitkopf & Härtel, 1972).





Example 86. N. Bruhns: *exordium*, bars 1-2 (detail)Example 87. N. Bruhns: *narratio* answer and countersubject (bars 27-30)Example 88. N. Bruhns: *exordium*: *tirata* figures, bars 16-17 (detail)

In a sense, the *exordium* presented the basic melodic materials necessary for the development of the case. In details of its contrapuntal construction, the *narratio* fugue employs the same technical features, as is usually the fashion with other *narrationes*, with balanced entries of the subject and the answer on E and B. Additionally, the section demonstrates a straightforward texture, in which the application of affective figures is carefully worked out by the composer. Just as in the rhetorical *narratio* Quintilian suggested that figures be used cautiously with a view to appealing to the emotions of the listeners, the fugue under discussion demonstrates expressive melodic *tiratae* and trills. Although the demisemiquaver turns of the trills are written down, the application of additional ornaments is a matter of choice of the performer.

Example 89. N. Bruhns: *narratio* (bars 51-62)

The last entrance of the subject is heard in the tenor starting in bar 68 with the pedal part carrying the countersubject. The 'rational' contrapuntal texture dissolves into an affective section in bars 74-75, where strong chords

interrupted by expressive *aposiopesis* rests are accompanied by *saltus duriusculus* motives in the pedal modelled after the countersubject. The *narratio* concludes in bar 80 with a perfect cadence on the dominant B major, decorated with a free ornamental flourish in the left-hand manual that ends in a lower mordent on b.



Example 90. N. Bruhns: *narratio* and internal *peroratio* (bars 76-85)

The *narratio* concludes in bar 80 followed by a free recitative-like section that would usually function as an internal *peroratio* to the fugue, as is the case with most of Buxtehude's *narrationes*. However, the passage seems to elaborate on elements that were demonstrated during the statement of the case with points of imitation enhanced by flourishes and affective rests. The section commences with an interval of a perfect fourth (f#'-b') followed by a rapid arpeggio that leads to another entrance of the same interval (*anaphora*, *repetitio*). After an expressive *aposiopesis*, the interval f#'-b' gives way to more elaborate arpeggios that shift the texture through a *tirata* and a trill (marked *adagio*) to an E minor chord (bar 85). This chord, ornamented with parallel *grosso* figures, is followed by two groups of demisemiquavers that are cut off abruptly in bar 86 by a pedal c#. The *abruptio* rest signifies the beginning of the second half of the affective passage, where the same perfect fourth interval is repeated this time a tone lower (e'-a'). Bars 86-89 present a varied repetition of the first half of the section at a different pitch (*polyptoton*) decorated occasionally with upper and lower mordents (*paronomasia*), as well as with a *trillo longo* marked *adagio* leading to a cadence on D (bar 90).





Example 91. N. Bruhns: internal *peroratio* and *digressio* (bars 86-94)

While this section could be easily considered an internal *peroratio* to the fugue, there are certain elements that point more to an *amplificatio* function, yet in an affective fashion. The two intervals that form the basis for the development of the section constitute an elaboration of the motives of the fugal countersubject, which demonstrated a series of repeated notes based on the same intervallic proportions (f#'-b' and e'-a'). It is also the same with the affective *tirata* figures encountered within bars 81-90 that are an exact imitation of the same figures in the *narratio*. In other words, the internal *peroratio* receives an *amplificatio* inflection not reminiscent of Buxtehude's works, where usually stretto-like repetitions derived from the countersubject followed the *confirmatio* section.



Example 92a. N. Bruhns: *narratio*: *tirata* figures (bars 63-64)



Example 92b. N. Bruhns: internal *peroratio*: *tirata* figures (bars 84 and 89)

The texture suddenly changes in bar 90 where the time signature (12/8) signifies the beginning of another free, but rhythmical, passage in gigue style. Compared to the preceding section, this fragment denotes a *digressio* consisting only of five bars, where harmony shifts to steady dance-like chords founded on successive leaps of fourths and fifths in the pedal. The section is

divided into two parts where the second (bars 92-94) constitutes an imitation of the first (bars 90-92), but with additions and alterations for the sake of emphasis (*paronomasia*). As in the *exordium* of the toccata, the *digressio* presented here hints at proofs and arguments the composer will elaborate on later. The metrical change to 12/8, although the same as in bars 13-15, receives an intense rhythmical shape that will be encountered in the same fashion in the *confirmatio* (bars 132-153).

The *digressio* ends with a cadence on G major, and while one would expect the *confirmatio* to start supporting the arguments put forward, Bruhns inserts, instead, thirty-seven bars of sections contrasting in style. Although longer, this passage recalls the material encountered in the introduction to the piece, where different textures, some of them with bold chromatic figurations, created a dramatic effect. The rhetorical definition of this section seems rather problematic; however, it can be considered a *digressio* functioning as a secondary *exordium* before the proof of the case. Quintilian favoured the application of such *exordia* in the course of a speech “[...] with a view to exciting or mollifying the judge or disposing him to lend a favouring ear to [the] proofs.”<sup>75</sup> Moreover, he suggested that this be done “[...] with all the greater freedom and vehemence at this stage of the proceedings since the case is already known to the judge.”<sup>76</sup> He furthermore maintained that the speaker employed “[...] such utterances as emollients to soften the harder elements of [the] statement, in order that the ears of the jury may be more ready to take in what [the orator has] to say in the sequel [...]”<sup>77</sup>

Returning to passage under discussion, the long section that appears just before the proofs of the arguments can be considered a secondary *exordium*, in other words, “[...] a very useful preparation for the examination of the main question [...]”<sup>78</sup> The secondary *exordium* consists of a long passage that demonstrates a gradual rise in affect starting from a virtuosic arpeggio section that leads to two chordal passages with chromatic figurations. Bars 95-111 display an *imitatio violistica* section of rapid demisemiquaver arpeggios, which give way to an affective homophonic chordal segment (bars 112-119)

<sup>75</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria*, Book IV. iii. 9, pp. 126-27.

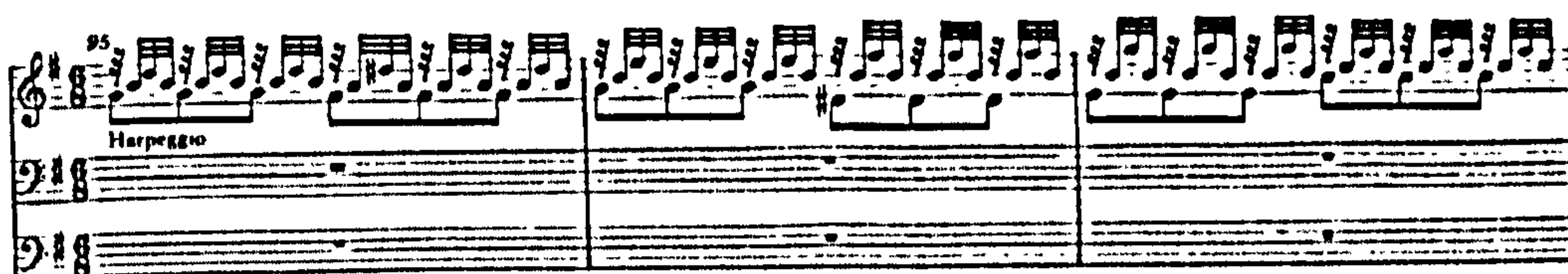
<sup>76</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 9, pp. 126-27.

<sup>77</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 10, pp. 126-27.

<sup>78</sup> *ibid.*, Book IV. iii. 9, pp. 126-27.



determined by bold *imesis* rests and chromatic semitones. This passage culminates in a section marked *presto* in bars 120-126, mostly intended for the display of the performer's virtuosity, a dominating principle of the *stylus phantasticus*. As Mattheson later described (1739), "[...] unusual passages, obscure ornaments [...] and embellishments"<sup>79</sup> with "[...] a view to pleasing, to dazzling and to astonishing"<sup>80</sup> are demonstrated here through dramatic repetitions of double parallel trills in the manuals accompanied by three emphatic statements of a pedal motive (*anaphora*).



Example 93. N. Bruhns: *imitatio violistica* (bars 95-97)



Example 94. N. Bruhns: homophonic passage (bars 117-125)



Example 95. N. Bruhns: chordal section (bars 126-129)

The improvisatory passage leads in bar 126, where a general *aposiopesis* introduces more free affective - and rare for organ music - material marked *adagio*, reminiscent of figurations intended for harpsichord music. Chords separated by *imesis* rests create a dramatically increasing harmonic tension through a continuous and occasionally confusing alteration of chromatic pedal lines and manual chords. The passage ends in bar 130, where expressive suspensions and an *abruptio* rest lead to the final cadence that marks the introduction of the final rational part of the *Klangrede*, the *confirmatio*.

<sup>79</sup> Johann Mattheson's *Der vollkommene Capellmeister*, trans. by Ernest Harriss, Part I, Chapter 10, §93, p. 217.

<sup>80</sup> *ibid.*, p. 217.

After the extended affective section, the metre shifts to 12/8, a time signature encountered twice so far in the prelude. The introduction of the same time signature once more should not come as a surprise, since both the *exordium* and the *digressio* provided the listener with hints of the proofs that will be demonstrated throughout the fugue. Apart from this rhythmical quality, and since the thematic relationship between the *narratio* and the *confirmatio* is less subtle compared to the works already discussed, there are certain textural and structural elements that prove that the two subjects are complementary to one another.

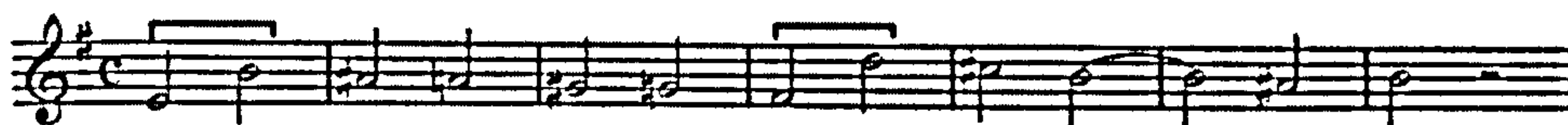


Example 96. N. Bruhns: secondary *exordium* and *confirmatio* (bars 130-134)

To begin, in terms of style and character, the *narratio* demonstrated a strict *stylus recitativus* fugue, yet with a canzona-like countersubject, which is now complemented by another stronger fugal texture in instrumental style. On the other hand, although the disposition of the two subjects does not bear any close resemblance, both begin by outlining a perfect fifth, which opens the *narratio* in ascending (e'-b') and the *confirmatio* in descending motion (b'-e'). After the perfect fifth, the *narratio* proceeds with descending chromatic semitones to f#, which then leads through an ascending minor sixth to d". The same fashion is demonstrated in the *confirmatio* but in a more expressive way. The descending fifth (b'-e') this time is followed by an octave leap (e'-e"), while the inherent 'breathing quality' of the minor sixth (f#'-d") of the *narratio* is paralleled by an affective rest (*tnesis*) on the third beat of the subject of the *confirmatio*. This similarity probably did not occur accidentally, but was well thought out in advance by the composer in his effort to link the two objective sections. In contrast to the first fugue where the strong beat always falls on the first minim (*alla breve*), in the *confirmatio* fugue the composer distorts the rhythmical balance, since the third strong beat almost always falls on an anacrusis. This is most obvious in the first bar of the subject, where both the first and the third strong beats begin with a *tnesis* (see



the following examples). Finally, in terms of harmony, the two fugues can be considered to complement one another, since the *narratio* starts from the tonic and ends in the dominant, while the *confirmatio* begins from the dominant and points to the tonic.



Example 97. N. Bruhns: *narratio* subject, bars 21-27 (detail)



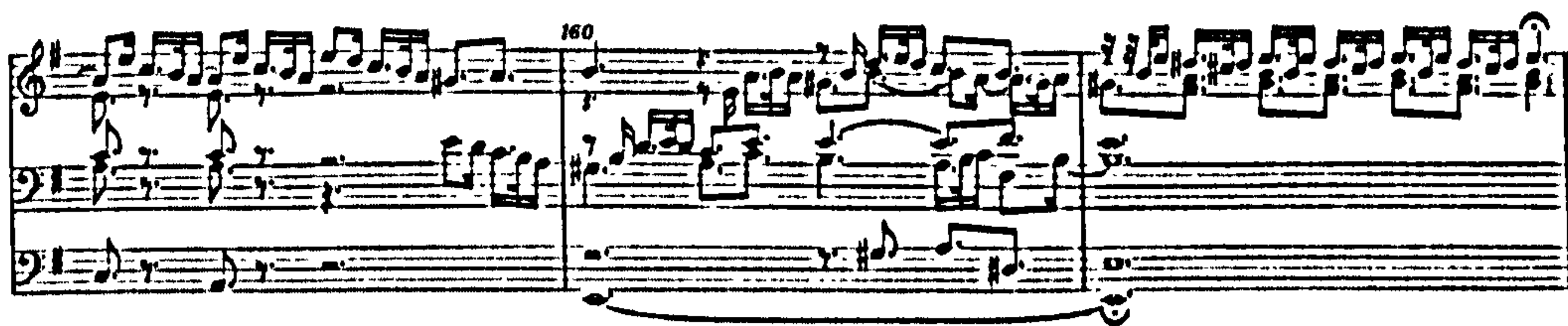
Example 98. N. Bruhns: *confirmatio* subject, bars 132-133 (detail)

Details such as the aforementioned suggest that the composer was carefully working on the construction of an objective section which, although seemingly obscure in terms of style and structure, still confirms traits hidden behind a plan that was intended to link closely the rational parts of the *Klangrede*. The *confirmatio* displays well-balanced contrapuntal writing with entries of the subject in all voices, reinforced occasionally with points of sequential repetition (*polyptoton*, bars 142-144). The subject is heard for the last time in the pedal in bars 148-149, where the rational texture, after a general *aposiopesis* (bar 150), is abandoned in favour of the affective conclusion of the fugue that amplifies the initial arguments. Bar 150 marks the beginning of the *amplificatio*, which displays three statements of the subject within a thick texture. Starting from the last beat of bar 149 the *caput* of the subject is heard in the tenor an octave lower than the original entry, while the second element of the subject appears in the alto in repeated fashion (bar 150). Bars 151-153 demonstrate repetitions of the passage of bars 149-150 (*paronomasia*) with the *caput* introduced each time by the tenor at its original pitch and the second part of the subject carried by the alto. The *amplificatio* ends in a dominant B major chord, just as the *narratio* had concluded on the dominant before the beginning of the internal *peroratio* (see bar 80).



Example 99. N. Bruhns: *amplificatio* and *peroratio* (bars 151-155)

After a long *aposiopesis* in bar 154, the metre shifts to 24/16, which signifies the beginning of the final affective portion of the *Klangrede*, the *peroratio*. Just as the *exordium*, the *peroratio* displays a highly passionate oratory, since it constitutes the ultimate attempt of the orator to appeal to the emotions of the listeners. In bar 155 the texture changes from that of gigue-like dotted quavers to rhapsodic toccata figurations strengthened by a wealth of expressive *Figuren*. Semiquaver motives are repeated, perhaps pointing to echo effects (bars 155-157), while affective rests (*abruptio*, *aposiopesis*) between the different motives surprise the listener and increase the dramatic tension.



Example 100. N. Bruhns: *peroratio* (bars 159-161)

In the second half of bar 158, gigue-like figurations that recall the *confirmatio* subject appear once more, stated four times (*paronomasia*) and emphasizing the subdominant A minor (bars 158-159). The *peroratio* concludes in bar 161, where continuous dance-like figurations intensify the moving character of the section and fulfil its dual objective: to provide striking figures that affect the listener, and to present a summary of the preceding fugal argumentation.

The rhetorical analysis of the organ works presented so far has focused on an elaborate *dispositio* including two affective sections (*exordium* and *peroratio*) and two objective fugal portions (*narratio* and *confirmatio*). As mentioned at the beginning of the discussion, the influence of the *stylus phantasticus* on Baroque compositions is undeniable; however, a simple alternation of free and fugal textures points at a structural analysis that



explains inadequately the rationale behind the function of disjointed parts as a plan worked out by the composer. On the other hand, elements of the rhetorical *dispositio* can be identified in organ works, and such an approach justifies the succession of different sections as a rhetorical discourse modelled on an alternation of affective and objective segments. Notwithstanding the differences appearing in the rhetorical structure of each work, composers, influenced by the Buxtehudian *Klangrede*, demonstrated a style of *dispositio* which proves that rhetorical knowledge was integral to their compositional procedure. The rest of the discussion in this chapter will examine aspects of a straightforward *dispositio* consisting of just one rational part (*confirmatio*) framed by an *exordium* and a *peroratio*, as was occasionally employed by D. Buxtehude and later by J. S. Bach.

One of the simplest *dispositiones* encountered in Buxtehude's *pedaliter praeludia* is demonstrated in the Prelude in F major (BuxWV 144).<sup>81</sup> This is one of the four large-scale preludes in this key, and it is noteworthy that all four use similar motivic figurations in the free sections, while the fugues display a close resemblance in terms of thematic material. BuxWV 144 commences with a short *exordium* of seventeen bars, which from the beginning demonstrates a four-note semiquaver figure that will provide the necessary material for the development of the *Klangrede*. The motive, which features a perfect fourth (as occurred in BuxWV 153) and two minor seconds, is repeated a tone higher on the second beat of bar 1 (*anaphora*). The right-hand manual immediately imitates the initial figure by demonstrating sequential repetitions intensified by parallel thirds, starting from c' and culminating an octave higher in c" (bars 1-2). Series of broken *faux bourdon* figures appear in descending motion from the fourth beat of bar 2, leading to a perfect cadence in F major (bar 4). After the cadence, the pedal repeats the four-note motive as it appeared on the right-hand manual (bars 1-2), while bar 6 introduces new figurations modelled on the basic motivic material.

<sup>81</sup> Buxtehude's musical-rhetorical *dispositio* presented here is drawn from Gorman's rhetorical analysis (pp. 128-33) with further emphasis put on the figures encountered and their resemblances to those already discussed in this chapter. Motivic and structural elements will be analysed with a view to projecting a similar approach in Bach's early organ works, particularly BWV 531 and 549.



Example 101. BuxWV 144: Prelude in F major: *exordium* (bars 1-4)

While the opening gesture demonstrated four semiquavers commencing with an ascending fourth, the new motive is transformed rhythmically by the placement of a semiquaver rest (*ellipsis*) at the beginning of bar 6. Compared to the introductory figuration, the new theme is built on the initial motivic disposition (first beat of bar 2: e'-a'-g'), but is altered at the end to lead to a descending second g'-f' (see the following example).



Example 102. BuxWV 144: *exordium* (bars 5-9)

A similar case was encountered in Buxtehude's Prelude in A minor (BuxWV 153), where the composer distorted the initial motive by replacing the ascending fourth figuration (e-a) with a *tnesis* in the pedal, yet without the rhythmical displacement encountered in BuxWV 144. As in BuxWV 153, in which the new figure dominated the whole *exordium*, in the F major prelude the transformed motive is repeated at different pitches in all voices (*polyptoton*), stressed occasionally by *syncope*s. In bar 8 the gesture is subject to alteration, this time without the ascending fourth interval, but only with descending seconds intensified by a sequence of parallel thirds (first and third beats of bar 8). Broken-chord figures illustrate bar 10, followed by patterns of the theme of bar 6 at different pitches (*polyptoton*), or even by expansions of the same figure in the pedal of bar 11 (beats 2-3: octave-*exclamatio* pedal figure). Frescobaldi's influence on Buxtehude's figuration is prominent in bars 13-14, which display an intense 'dialogue' between manuals and pedal similar to the one encountered in BuxWV 153. The altered motive appears in repeated parallel thirds in the soprano and alto (*anaphora*, *repetitio*), stressed each time by a semiquaver rest (*ellipsis*) and answered by the pedal. The pedal



demonstrates different versions of the initial gesture, which in bars 13-14 appears in retrograde state; the opening figure e-a-g (manual, bar 6) becomes G-A-E (pedal, see example 103).



Example 103. BuxWV 144: *exordium*, bars 13-14 (detail)

As in BuxWV 153, the 'dialogue' between manuals and pedal resolves into the dominant with the alto and the soprano continuing in parallel thirds. In bar 15, the dominant pedal c is illustrated with a series of broken chords, while in the penultimate bar the initial figure appears once more in retrograde state in the soprano, leading, after the intervention of dotted chords, to the tonic F.



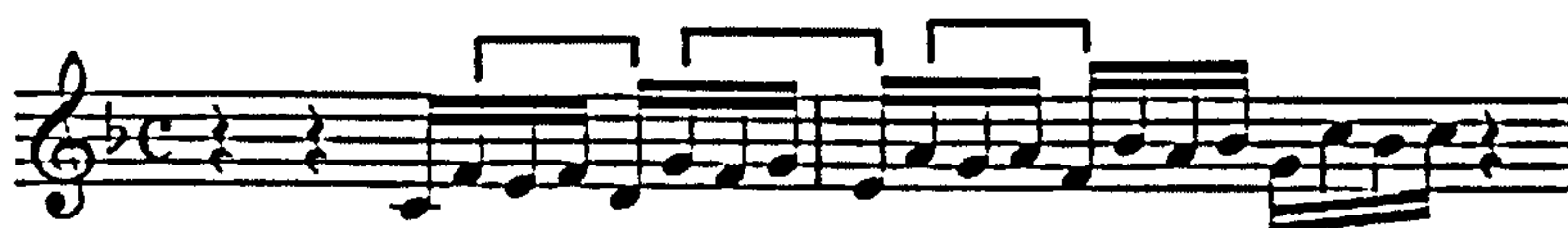
Example 104. BuxWV 144: *exordium* and *confirmatio* (bars 14-23)

In short, the *exordium* demonstrates a simple yet tightly woven structure which provides the necessary material for the entire work. The initial four-note figuration is meticulously developed into elaborate motives that are intensified by the application of simple but affective *Figuren* within an orderly design. Bar 17 signifies the end of the *exordium*, leading to the beginning of the rational part of the *Klangrede*, the *confirmatio*. Although there is just one fugal section in BuxWV 144, the subject of the fugue is derived from the motive that dominated the *exordium* and, consequently, prepared the listener for the development of the case. The intense figural activity of the first bars of the *exordium* is transferred now to the fugue, whose subject can be broken up

into two segments, both resembling the exordial figuration. The first half consists of an opening motive that outlines the F major tonic triad; this, after a quaver rest, gives way to sequential ascending figures leading from c' to c'', built on a rhythmical transformation of the right-hand gesture of the first bar of the *exordium* (beats 3-4).



Example 105. BuxWV 144: *confirmatio* fugue (bars 18-19)



Example 106. BuxWV 144: *exordium*: right-hand figure (bars 1-2)

The fugue is a short contrapuntal section of thirty bars, with entries of the subject and the answer mainly on F and C. From bar 38 the theme and the answer are heard on C and G in the soprano and alto respectively, shifting the harmony to a short modulation to G major (bars 40-41). The pedal enters in bar 44 on the dominant C, while in bar 46 the fugue returns to the original F major, giving way to the *peroratio* (bars 47-54).



Example 107. BuxWV 144: *confirmatio* and *peroratio* (bars 44-54)

In contrast to the majority of the preludes, the conclusion of the work does not display a highly affective language, but emerges smoothly from the preceding contrapuntal section. The *peroratio* demonstrates stretto repetitions of the first segment of the fugal subject in bars 47-50, occasionally in parallel thirds, followed by a complete entry of the answer that stresses the tonic key



in bars 51-53. Consequently, the section can be considered a *peroratio* with an *amplificatio* character. However, its function is justified as a *peroratio* since it fulfils its actual objective: to amplify and recapitulate the arguments presented so far by providing “[...] a sort of weightier affirmation [...]”.<sup>82</sup>

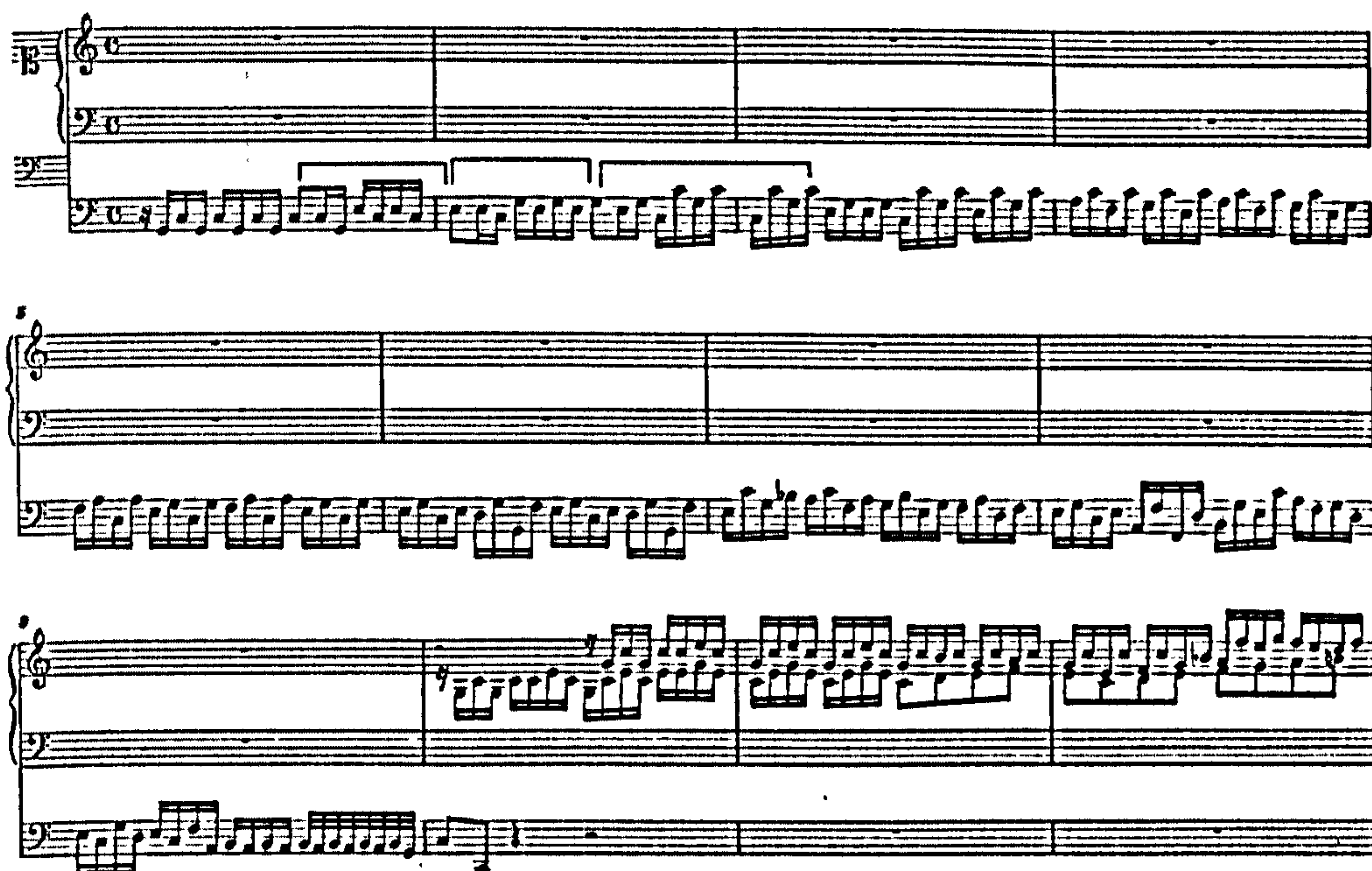
The same type of *dispositio* consisting of a rational part (*confirmatio*), framed by an introductory *exordium* and a concluding *peroratio* is identified in certain organ works by J. S. Bach, most of them dating from an early compositional stage. These works maintain the basic characteristics discussed above, according to which the prelude begins with an affective introduction (*exordium*); this, in contrast to Buxtehude’s *exordia*, is developed into an autonomous section clearly separated from the fugue following it. The *exordium* prepares the listener for the *confirmatio* whose subject is subtly derived from figurations encountered in the *exordium*. The fugue, particularly in works such as BWV 531 and BWV 549, demonstrates a restricted texture in terms of contrapuntal development, finishing with a long coda (*peroratio*) that elaborates on the fugal subject either with points of imitation, or by introducing motives reminiscent of the opening section. This tripartite division is encountered in Bach’s Prelude and Fugue in C major (BWV 531), a piece included in the *Möller Handschrift* and dating, according to Stauffer, from around 1700/03.<sup>83</sup>

The *exordium* begins with a pedal passage based on the alternate-toes technique and reinforced by an affective rest (*tnesis*) in bar 1. The section establishes the C major tonic triad in the first three bars - as occurred with the monophonic gesture in BWV 566 -, leading through a series of rapid pedal semiquavers to an improvisatory *trillo longo* that resolves in the tonic and gives way to the manuals. Scholars<sup>84</sup> have drawn parallels between BWV 531 and Böhm’s Prelude and Fugue in C major, suggesting that Bach probably composed this work while in Lüneburg, before travelling to Lübeck to listen to Buxtehude. The work demonstrates technically difficult passages and expressive but demanding *Figuren* that in many cases call for the performer’s manual and pedal dexterity.

<sup>82</sup> Cicero, *De partitione oratoria*, xv. 53, pp. 350-51.

<sup>83</sup> Stauffer, *The Organ Preludes of Johann Sebastian Bach*, p. 92.

<sup>84</sup> Peter Williams, *The Organ Music of J. S. Bach*, p. 37; Stauffer, p. 101. Also Keller, p. 62.



Example 108. BWV 531: Prelude in C major: *exordium* (bars 1-12)<sup>85</sup>

The bold pedal gesture is followed by the manuals, which from bar 10 demonstrate - for emphasis - motives similar to the initial pedal figuration that move in parallel motion and shift the texture through *catabasis* pedal scales (bars 17-18) to the subdominant F major. Emphatic repetitions of manual passages (*anaphora*, bars 19-20) give way to broken arpeggios in the pedal (bars 21-22) that reinforce the subdominant; these are followed by a series of parallel sixths in the upper voices for the following two and a half bars that end in the dominant G. Sequential motives with points of imitation in the same voices lead to bar 28, where the pedal introduces an awkward motive consisting of rapid imitative octave leaps, which hint at the fugal (*confirmatio*) subject. The texture suddenly changes from semiquaver motives to descending triplets, accompanied and followed by *anabasis* and *catabasis* manual passages (bars 30-32) that shift again the harmony to the subdominant F major (bar 33). Strong chords intensified by accented passing notes in the soprano and expressive chromaticism in the pedal (bars 34-35) modulate again to the dominant G, while the *exordium* closes with brilliant demisemiquaver *catabasis* passages that lead to the tonic C major.

<sup>85</sup> J. S. Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Dietrich Kilian, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 5.1: Preludes, Toccatas, Fantasias and Fugues (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1972).



Example 109. BWV 531: *exordium* (bars 25-32)

The clear-cut cadence in bars 38-40 marks the end of the improvisatory *exordium*, which is followed by the exceptionally long *confirmatio* fugue consisting of fifty-eight bars of fugal texture and followed by sixteen bars of free concluding figuration. The long subject of the fugue is modelled after the north German tradition and (like the *exordium*) commences with a semiquaver rest (*tmesis*) followed by octave leaps (g"-g') in the right hand, probably derived from the pedal passage of the *exordium* (bar 28). In terms of structure, the subject features sequence in bar 1 (beats 3-4) and motivic repetition in bar 2 (beat 2). The tonal answer follows in bar 3, while entries of the subject and the answer within a three-part counterpoint (bars 1-11) are on C and G without, however, the entrance of the subject in the pedal.

Example 110. BWV 531: *confirmatio* (bars 1-8)

A short three-voice episode in bars 11-13 leads to stretto-like repetitions of the *caput* of the subject in chains between c"-g' and a"-e' in the upper voices (bars 14-15). The *caput* enters for the first time in the pedal in bar 23, where the octave leaps g-G and f-F appear in repeated fashion, set against the strong

manual chords. The fugue displays contrapuntally restricted part-writing denoting Bach's early effort at *pedaliter* compositions,<sup>86</sup> with the complete yet awkward pedal entrance in bars 36-37. Counterpoint ranges from three- to five-voice texture, featuring entries of the subject without regular answers (bars 24-27), occasionally in modified version and in parallel motion (bars 45-46), or even entries of the subject accompanied by free imitative segments (bars 49-50). The last complete tonic entry in the soprano (bars 53-55) occurs within a long passage of continuous semiquaver figurations (bars 52-57), followed by the final entrance of the *caput* of the subject on D that cadences in G major and signifies the beginning of the *peroratio* (bar 58).

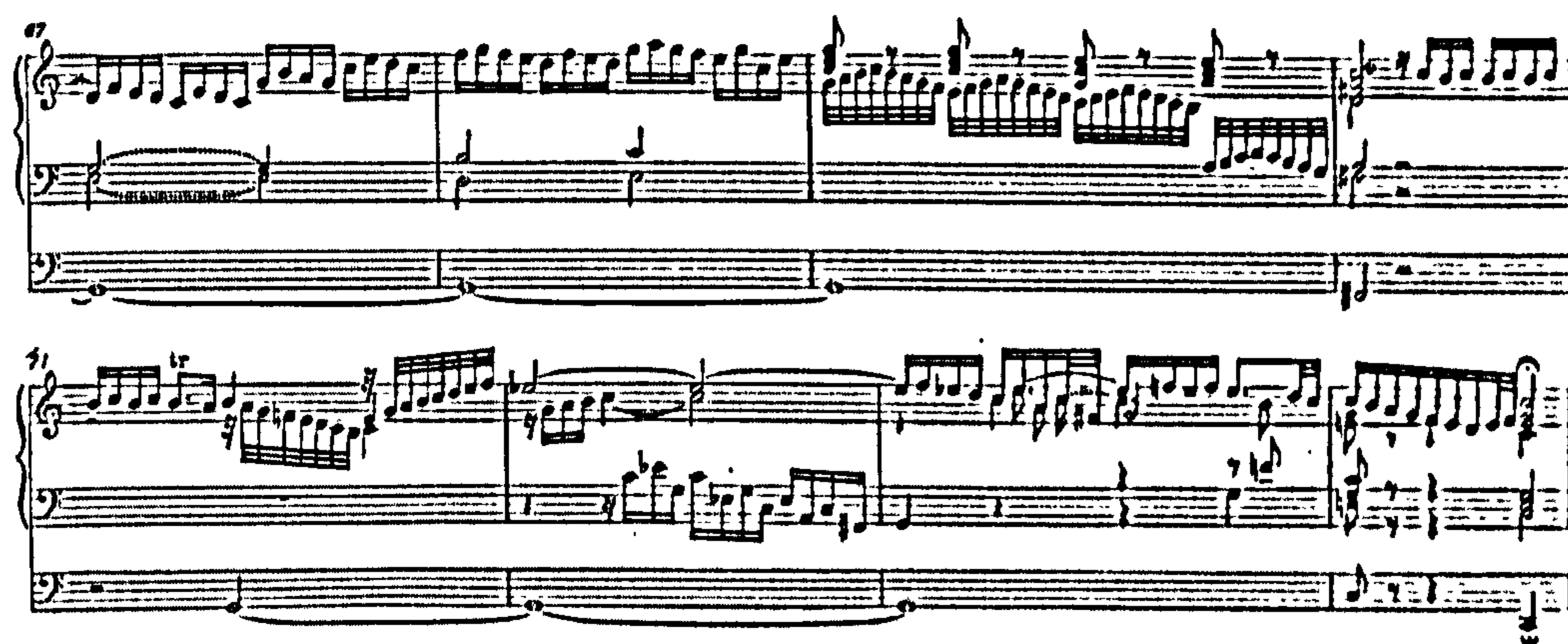


Example 111. BWV 531: *confirmatio* (bars 42-51)

The *peroratio* emerges subtly from the *confirmatio* by demonstrating free affective motives starting with an *auxesis* (*incrementum*), which appears in chains in three voices in bars 58-60. The *auxesis* gradually gives way to sequential imitative figures that lead to the dominant pedal G, where the part-writing becomes more improvisatory shifting from semiquaver gestures to demisemiquaver virtuosic fragments, reminiscent of those encountered at the end of the *exordium*. The first inversion minim chord of the dominant seventh of G major in bar 70 is followed by a *trillo longo* c'-b' in the manuals (bars 70-71) that gives way to demisemiquaver *anabasis* and *catabasis* scales. In bars 72-73 the texture displays an 'unexpected turn' to the tonic minor that surprises the listener and leads through bold gestures to the final cadence on the tonic C major.

<sup>86</sup> Stauffer, p. 101.





Example 112. BWV 531: *peroratio* (bars 67-74)

The same type of *dispositio* consisting of a central *confirmatio*, framed by an *exordium* and a *peroratio*, is encountered in Bach's Prelude and Fugue in C minor (BWV 549). This work, a three-part toccata included in the *Möller Handschrift*, was originally written in D minor (BWV 549a) but was later transposed to C minor to avoid d' in the opening pedal passage of the prelude. Stylistic resemblances to BWV 531 date BWV 549a to Bach's period in Lüneburg (1700/03), while the transposed version in C minor - the analysis presented here focuses on the revised form - originates from Bach's activities in Cöthen or Leipzig (after 1717).<sup>87</sup>

The piece demonstrates a synthesis of north German *stylus phantasticus* elements (opening pedal solo, bars 1-8) with central German improvisatory traits over long pedal notes (bars 9-11), a feature reminiscent of Frescobaldi's toccatas. The *exordium* begins with a virtuosic solo pedal section, which - as in BWV 531 - displays a four-note motive that outlines in arpeggio-style the C minor tonic triad within the first three bars. The pedal begins with a lower mordent on c, followed by an affective *tmesis* and a semiquaver figuration consisting of a perfect fourth and minor seconds that resolve onto c. The initial motive, always starting with a *tmesis*, is repeated three times, of which the first and second repetitions begin with an ascending third, while the final statement constitutes an exact imitation of the opening figuration an octave higher. After the arrival at c' in bar 3, the pedal introduces a variety of semiquaver figures demonstrating a dramatic intensity through motives organized in gestures, which show a sophisticated approach based on well-balanced motivic

<sup>87</sup> Stauffer, p. 102.

phraseology. The descending motion starting from the pedal c' in bar 3 resolves into the low E in bar 6, shifting the texture to more daring figurations consisting of large-scale leaps, which culminate in a dramatic *hyperbole* on the third beat of bar 8.



Example 113. BWV 549: Prelude in C minor: *exordium* (bars 1-12)<sup>88</sup>

The solo pedal passage concludes with a perfect cadence on the tonic c, which is followed by repetitions of the initial pedal passage in the upper voices at different pitches (*polyptoton*). The *exordium* demonstrates a *mimesis* of the Frescobaldian *Toccata sopra il pedale* style, with its harmonic structure ranging from three- to seven-part counterpoint. In bar 11 the basic motive is abandoned in favour of more affective semiquaver figurations that appear sequentially within a four-voice texture, between the tenor and the alto (bar 13), and the tenor and the soprano (bar 16). Bach intensifies the dramatic character of the *exordium* by distorting the rhythmical balance through the abrupt intervention of a short homophonic segment in bar 20; repeated (dominant seventh) quaver chords resolve into syncopated, and at the same time, dotted chords, which illustrate inversions of the tonic triad. Semiquaver triplets (bar 21) lead to a more dramatic chordal section illustrating successive dominant and tonic seventh chords that resolve into the subdominant F minor

<sup>88</sup> J. S. Bach, *Orgelwerke*, ed. by Dietrich Kilian, Urtext of the New Bach Edition, vol. 5.1: Preludes, Toccatas, Fantasias and Fugues (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag, 1972).



(bar 25). Sequential motives appearing in bars 25-27 demonstrate the influence of the Frescobaldian manner discussed in BuxWV 153, this time only in the manuals. The figures built over the plagal cadence (IV-I) display a 'dialogue' between the tenor and the soprano, in which the soprano line is accompanied by emphatic repetitions of the tenor motive f'-e'-c'-f' (*anaphora, repetitio*). The tenor figuration begins with a *tmesis* (bar 25, third beat), which is replaced by a tied note in the two following statements; while one would expect the tied f' in bar 27 to introduce another repetition of the initial motive, the tenor presents an inverted form of the basic figuration (f'-e' becomes c'-f'), in which the f' leads to an expressive tritone (f'-b natural) before resolving into the tonic c'.



Example 114. BWV 549: *exordium* (bars 21-29)

Despite the fermata over the final C major chord in bar 29, the conclusion of the *exordium* is marked by a short pause in metrical value, followed by rests that lead to the development of the case. The *confirmatio* fugue is linked thematically to motives of the solo pedal passage (bars 1-3) of the *exordium*, with the first three bars of the subject built over the C minor tonic triad. In accordance with the ascending motion demonstrated by the pedal in the *exordium*, the subject ascends through extensions of the initial passage to g, the fifth degree of the tonic triad (bar 3), before shifting to a descending motion that reaches the dominant low G, where the answer begins. As was the case with the C major fugue (BWV 531), the *confirmatio* under discussion demonstrates a limited contrapuntal design with five entries of the subject and the answer on C and G, while the countersubject (bars 5-6) is built on *figura corta* figures reminiscent of those of the Toccata in E major (BWV

566). The first exposition ends in bar 21, while, after the intervention of a two-voice episode consisting of motives modelled on material from the subject, the second exposition begins in bar 24. This features similar entries of the subject and answer on C and G, followed by an episodic fragment (bars 36-40) characterised by strong suspensions in the alto and the soprano (bars 37-38).



Example 115. BWV 549: *confirmatio* (bars 1-11)

The *confirmatio* demonstrates an alternation of two- and three-voice contrapuntal textures until the entrance of the subject in the pedal in bar 40, which transforms the fugue into a toccata-like section. Before the pedal entrance, the *caput* of the theme is heard on the third and fourth beats of bar 39, paving the way for the *amplificatio*, which is marked by the eventual statement of the subject in the pedal. Alternate manual chords accompany the final entrance of the subject, creating an increasingly dramatic tension reminiscent of the homophonic passage that preceded the gigue fugue in Bruhns's E minor toccata. Bars 40-42 present the subject in its original state, while the second half of the theme (bars 43-45) is altered to pairs of semiquaver figurations demonstrating an *accentus* (*superjectio*) figure in bar 43.



Example 116. BWV 549: *amplificatio* (bars 40-43)

Manual chords followed by *aposiopesis* rests are heard over the pedal passage in bars 43-45, culminating in a perfect cadence in C minor (bars 45-



46). Bars 46-47 display stepwise repetitions of the *caput* of the subject, starting from the right hand and then appearing in parallel tenths between the two manuals. Free improvisatory gestures lead again to the entrance of the pedal (bar 50), which is modelled after the right-hand figurations of bars 46-47 (*paronomasia*). The short pedal passage of bars 50-51 is accompanied with tonic, subdominant, and dominant chords after the fashion of bars 43-45, culminating in a G major chord (bar 52) that marks the end of the *amplificatio* and the beginning of the *peroratio*.



Example 117. BWV 549: *amplificatio* and *peroratio* (bars 44-52)

The fugue concludes with a *stylus phantasticus peroratio* of eight bars, which can be divided into two sections. The first four bars (52-55) illustrate semiquaver motives that provide a summary of the preceding fugal evidence, with the two upper voices descending in parallel motion. The arrival at the pedal E in bar 56 is marked by an *abruptio* rest followed by a tonic chord that breaks off the texture, while virtuosic demisemiquaver figurations excite the listener and summarize the materials of the *Klangrede* in an affective and persuasive manner.



Example 118. BWV 549: *peroratio* (bars 53-59)

To conclude, the final chapter of the present work has shown the application of rhetorical structure in organ music, starting from the large-scale preludes by Dietrich Buxtehude and taking a similar approach to the compositions of N. Bruhns and J. S. Bach. Two basic rhetorical formulae were presented, each in a particular prelude by Buxtehude: the first one illustrated a *dispositio* consisting of two objective and two affective textures (BuxWV 153), while the second (BuxWV 144) comprised one rational section (*confirmatio*) prefaced by an *exordium* and concluding with a *peroratio*. The first type of *dispositio* was applied in Bach's Prelude in A minor (BWV 551) and the main point suggested was that Bach undoubtedly composed this piece under the direct influence of Buxtehude's style. Structural and textural similarities between BuxWV 153 and BWV 551 prove "[...] the fluency with which Bach speaks Buxtehude's language",<sup>89</sup> making plausible the assumption that this early and - usually considered - immature work was composed before the young Bach became familiar with Buxtehude's large-scale *pedaliter praeludia*. The same type of *dispositio* encountered in BWV 551 was also discussed in Bach's Toccata in E major (BWV 566), a work that demonstrates a well-developed *dispositio* in terms of contrapuntal texture and a more mature version of the multisectional *stylus phantasticus* compositions. Bach had undoubtedly become acquainted with the fantastic style through manuscripts that circulated within his circle, and it should not come as a surprise that elements of the *stylus phantasticus* can be identified not only in his early organ works but also in his harpsichord toccatas.

This chapter also focused on the rhetorical analysis of the (long) E minor Prelude by Nicolaus Bruhns, one of his four multisectional works, all samples of the *stylus phantasticus* modelled after his teacher's toccatas. Although structurally different from Buxtehude's free organ works, Bruhns's E minor Toccata demonstrates north German traits such as thematic variation in the objective sections, which alternate with a series of affective textures within a loose but tightly woven design. The final stage of the present discussion was the application of the three-part *dispositio* in two of Bach's early organ works, as was initially demonstrated in Buxtehude's F major Prelude (BuxWV 144).

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<sup>89</sup> McLean, 'BWV 551, A Bachian Orphan', p. 37.



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Although BWV 549 and BWV 531 are two pieces in which Georg Böhm's influence is most prominent, both works feature the same structure set in the prelude-fugue-postlude disposition with the fugal subject introduced - in both cases - in the pedal section of the prelude (*exordium*). Despite the structural differences between Buxtehude's and Bach's *Klangrede* - in the latter's works full cadences clearly delineate different textures - both composers model their works on an alternation of distinct sections that move the listener through the succession of contrasting dynamics and effects. To what extent such an approach determines the way music is read and performed will be dealt with in the conclusion of this thesis.

## CONCLUSION

The free organ preludes of Dieterich Buxtehude stand out in organ music as exceptional cases where the rhetorical *dispositio* is demonstrated in such a way that Buxtehude turns out to be an eloquent musical orator. The influence on his pupil Nicolaus Bruhns and the early compositions of J. S. Bach is so profound that one cannot disregard the notion that Baroque composers were familiar with the rhetorical concepts of *dispositio* and *elocutio*. The rhetorical structure presented in the previous chapter suggested that each *praeludium* demonstrates a contrast between affective (*exordium*, *peroratio*) and objective (*narratio*, *confirmatio*) passages. Rhetorical analysis, however, is not intended to invalidate other approaches to Baroque organ compositions, such as textural analysis, which points at a simple alternation between free improvisatory and strict fugal sections. Such an approach has received certain support through the application of the *stylus phantasticus* in organ music, an agent that influences the perception and appreciation of the multisectional organ preludes.<sup>1</sup> In fact, simple musical analysis determines a certain performance of such organ works by suggesting a more dramatic delivery and a flexibility of tempo in the free sections - in contrast to the fugal ones -, something easily understood even without any reference to rhetorical ideas.

However, what rhetorical analysis sheds light on is not just the content of music, but rather the way music is composed. As shown in the analysis, all works commence and conclude with affective sections that have been labelled in this Thesis *exordium* and *peroratio*, since they reflected the procedure an orator would follow in beginning and closing his speech. If rhetorical consideration has no significance in organ works, as Peter Williams suggests,<sup>2</sup> why then do all of Buxtehude's preludes begin and close in such an affective way? On the other hand, how can one justify the application of expressive figures in the introduction and the conclusion of a given work without referring to rhetorical ideas? Does this not reflect the procedure followed by

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<sup>1</sup> The weaknesses of textural analysis, as demonstrated by Apel, are discussed by Gorman in her 'Rhetoric and Affect in the Organ Praeludia of Dieterich Buxtehude', pp. 1-8.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Williams, 'Need Organists Pay Attention to Theorists of Rhetoric?', *The Diapason*, 73 (1982), 3-4.



an orator when he was arranging his discourse aiming to excite the attention of his audience at the most crucial parts of his speech?

Furthermore, fugues encountered within these multisectional preludes were related to the terms *narratio* and *confirmatio*, since strict contrapuntal techniques referred to reasoning and argumentation in theoretical treatises of the seventeenth century. Thematic relationship between two or three fugues within the same prelude was also explained through the rhetorical procedure where the arguments of the *confirmatio* were drawn from the facts presented earlier in the *narratio*. Although such a technique is also encountered in toccatas by Froberger, Buxtehude's fugues display a unique fusion of rhetorical ideas in the contrapuntal structure in a way that the textural approach is inadequate to justify. Rhetorical inflection is also hidden behind the development of each fugue. Buxtehude was undoubtedly a composer of elaborate fugues and canzonas, but the fugues apparent in his preludes do not support this notion. The abrupt cessation of the contrapuntal texture in the first fugue (*narratio*) in favour of a free ending, and the amplification of the arguments presented in the second fugue (*confirmatio*) can only be understood if one takes into account the complexities inherent in the structure of a rhetorical speech.

On the other hand, the application of the rhetorical framework in a musical composition is not always the best approach and can easily result in misunderstandings if such an endeavour does not meet the requirements that the theoretical sources and music imply. The first scholar to demonstrate a musical-rhetorical *dispositio* in Buxtehude's free *pedaliter praeludia* was Lena Jacobson, although her pioneering work was not the most successful one.<sup>3</sup> Jacobson applied Mattheson's *dispositio* in Buxtehude's preludes without considering the structural differences inherent in an aria by Marcello and a prelude by Buxtehude. This is not to say, on the other hand, that Mattheson's illustration of the rhetorical model in vocal music was a successful approach. Rather, such an attempt obviously resulted in numerous mistakes on behalf of the theorist, since the six-part *dispositio* could not be applied to a *da capo* aria, and, as a result, the meaning and function of the different rhetorical sections

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<sup>3</sup> Lena Jacobson, 'Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude's Free Organ Works', *The Organ Yearbook*, 13 (1982), 60-79.

was misinterpreted. The second chapter of this thesis presented Mattheson's musical illustration of the rhetorical skeleton, the first complete yet unsuccessful interpretation of the rules of rhetoric in musical composition. For instance, Mattheson defined the beginning of the melody in an aria as an *exordium*, while in classical rhetoric the *exordium* described a separate section clearly delineated by means of grammatical punctuation, a notion Mattheson and later Jacobson failed to identify in Marcello's aria and in Buxtehude's preludes respectively. It is the same with the *narratio*. While in classical rhetoric this was considered an important division of the speech, Jacobson relates it to "an immediate repetition and further development of an exordial thought",<sup>4</sup> following once more Mattheson's definition. Although one can argue over the precise rhetorical labelling of the various sections encountered in a prelude by Buxtehude - opinions can always vary about whether a section functions as a *confirmatio* or a *confutatio* - Jacobson's rhetorical interpretation remains an innovative approach despite the fact that her application of the rhetorical terms does not seem to fall in line with the function of the ones described in rhetorical treatises.

The rhetorical *dispositio* and its application to Bach's organ works is discussed by Timothy Edward Albrecht, who uses Mattheson's description of the rhetorical structure as a guide for the analysis of the Prelude in E minor (BWV 533).<sup>5</sup> Albrecht traces the origin and evolution of rhetoric from its inception in ancient Greece and Rome to its transformation into musical rhetoric through the German *musica poetica* treatises, and continues with a translation of a portion of J. Kloppers's dissertation.<sup>6</sup> Aspects of rhetorical structure and figures are discussed in detail through Kloppers's study with emphasis given to the organ works of J. S. Bach. Albrecht then proceeds to identify a certain number of musical-rhetorical figures in J. S. Bach's Toccata in D minor (BWV 565) and demonstrates the rhetorical *dispositio* in BWV 533. The weaknesses pointed out in Jacobson's approach are also encountered in Albrecht's analysis with the addition that he applies Mattheson's macro-

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<sup>4</sup> Jacobson, 'Musical Rhetoric in Buxtehude's Free Organ Works', p. 65.

<sup>5</sup> Timothy Edward Albrecht, 'Musical Rhetoric in Selected Organ Works of Johann Sebastian Bach' (unpublished D. M. A. thesis, University of Rochester, Eastman School of Music, 1978).

<sup>6</sup> Jacobus Kloppers, 'Die Interpretation und Widergabe der Orgelwerke Bachs' (Ph.D. dissertation, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1965).



structural *dispositio* in the prelude alone without any reference to the fugue following it. For instance, in defining the *exordium* as the introduction to the speech aiming to draw the audience's attention, Albrecht reduces the *exordium* to the first five bars of the prelude guided by tonic, dominant and subdominant chords, without taking into account the means of cadential punctuation. The monophonic gesture of the first five bars functions as an introduction, but this does injustice to the character and function of the rhetorical *exordium*. In verbal discourse every *exordium* either short or long was determined by at least one complete period, while for Albrecht a IV-V-I chord progression within a monophonic section followed by a *catabasis* figure is enough to denote the introduction to the piece. Albrecht falsely considers the tonic pedal statements (bar 6), the manual trills (bars 6, 8, and 10), and the reintroduction of the *exordium* passagework (bars 6-8) elements of the *narratio*, while following also Mattheson's approach, he assigns bars 11-17 to the *propositio* where, despite the suspensions in the pedal and the soprano, "the harmonic strength of the key prevails in good stead."<sup>7</sup> Additionally, Albrecht adopts Mattheson's use of the *confutatio* - an objective section according to Quintilian - and assigns it, in defence of Mattheson's interpenetration, to 'figures of opposition' and diminished seventh chords which "intensify the harmonic instability."<sup>8</sup> The objections raised to Albrecht's analysis are not intended to devalue his approach, since the application of rhetorical steps in any organ work is, in a way, a speculative undertaking, and other analysts can apply a different musical content to the original rhetorical terms. Albrecht's interpretation, however, does not seem to fall in line with the purpose and nature of the classical *dispositio* as described by theoretical sources. On the other hand, his attempt to display a large-scale structure in a prelude of thirty-two bars - in accordance with Mattheson's illustration - demonstrates a conflict between passion and reason based on figural analysis rather than on textural differentiation.

Whether scholars admit the influence of rhetoric on the music of the seventeenth century or not, one cannot ignore historical grounds. The large number of theoretical works presented in the first chapter of this study testifies

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<sup>7</sup> Albrecht, p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> *ibid.*, p. 180.

to the impact of rhetorical thinking on compositional procedure starting from the beginning of the seventeenth century with the treatises of Joachim Burmeister. Rhetoric formed a vital part of the *Lateinschule* curriculum and composers were undoubtedly familiar with the rhetorical manuals of the ancient Greek and Roman authors. The transfer of linguistic principles to musical sphere established the close bonds between music and rhetoric, and Baroque musicians applied rhetoric's attributes to their compositional techniques. Brian Vickers refutes such a phenomenon on the grounds that this resulted in distortions of the original meaning of the rhetorical terms (e.g. rhetorical figures), since "the musical application of a figure is always more limited than its rhetorical function, and [...] usually involves a transposition of the linguistic effect on to some other plane."<sup>9</sup> Although such a remark should be taken seriously since the musical adaptation of rhetorical terms unavoidably involved alterations of the original concept, this is, in this author's view, a misunderstanding of the true character of *musica poetica*. A simple definition of a figure as *paronomasia* or *anaphora* does injustice to the musical function of the *Figurenlehre*. The determination of the quality of figures depends on the affective and semantic significance they receive in music rather than on their mere labelling with rhetorical terms. Additionally, the precise identification of their affective function implies an understanding of the quality they received in Baroque musical framework alone. For Peter Williams, being a modern scholar, the numerical proportions and the theological symbolism of the musical intervals are incompatible with his musical beliefs.<sup>10</sup> However, it was during the Baroque that the teachings of Luther influenced the theologically-oriented character of musical composition, and figures were given a significance that might sound odd and incongruous to modern ears. In other words, the answer to Williams's question 'Need Organists Pay Attention to Theorists of Rhetoric?'<sup>11</sup> could be a 'yes' with the qualification that such an approach presupposes the appreciation of the historical perspectives in which theories were perceived.

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<sup>9</sup> Vickers, 'Figures of Rhetoric/ Figures of Music?', p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> "I am thinking of such seductive but totally unfounded theories as that [...] the Passacaglia is in some sense based on the Christian numerologies of Werckmeister (Kee)", in his 'Encounters with the Chromatic Fourth', *The Musical Times*, 126 (May 1985), p. 276.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Williams, 'Need Organists Pay Attention to Theorists of Rhetoric?', *The Diapason*, 73 (1982), 3-4.



On the other hand, as Gorman correctly points out, one should be aware of the flexibilities inherent in rhetorical analysis when applied to musical structure.<sup>12</sup> Buxtehude's rhetorical style encountered in his preludes cannot be considered a general phenomenon for the organ music of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the fundamental ideas outlined in the final chapter of this study permeated the compositions of composers who lived in the same period in which culture and education were influenced by rhetorical concepts. Bruhns's Toccata in E minor and J. S. Bach's early multisectional toccatas denote a style clearly imbued with the principles of rhetoric which each composer developed and transformed in his own way. Bruhns composed four extended organ toccatas in which passion and reasoned arguments are closely welded in a framework which is purely rhetorical. It is also the same with Bach's early compositions, such as BWV 551 and BWV 566, a result of his efforts to imitate his predecessor's rhetoric, a notion familiar to him while at the lyceum in Ohrdurf and later in the *Michaelisschule* in Lüneburg.<sup>13</sup>

The rhetorical analysis of a seventeenth-century organ work is always a stirring venture providing the scholar and, furthermore, the performer with the tools necessary for the discovery of the dimensions hidden behind a musical texture. Pure musical analysis of a prelude can always reveal aspects of tempo, registration, and articulation, which in any case depend on the performer's temperament and disposition. However, what denotes a rhetorical performance is the understanding of a piece of music as a rhetorical speech that encourages a deeper insight into the musical context and brings out a stimulating and cohesive delivery. Therefore, it is the task of the performer to undertake an approach that will reveal the composer's objective; that is, to make the music speak to the audience in the same way that an orator would address the public; in other words, to transform his speech into an eloquent *Klangrede*.

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<sup>12</sup> Gorman, 'Rhetoric and Affect', p. 245.

<sup>13</sup> As a result of her exhaustive application of the rhetorical *dispositio* in Buxtehude's preludes, Gorman suggests that BWV 566 displays "principles that if they are indeed still rhetorical are certainly the expression of a very different style of oratory" (ibid., p. 234). There are, undoubtedly, certain structural differences between the rhetorical style encountered in Buxtehude's works and Bach's Toccata in E major, such as the development of individual sections in the latter. Buxtehude's rhetoric reflects a style on its own terms encountered only, as already shown, in Bach's Prelude in A minor (BWV 551). However, if rhetorical features such as the conflict between arguments and passion are still inherent in BWV 566 despite the structural differentiations, one wonders what sort of "a very different style of oratory" Bach is propagating in this particular work.

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<sup>1</sup> References and bibliography have been given in this thesis according to guidelines published by the Modern Humanities Research Association; see *MHRA Style Guide: A Handbook for Authors, Editors, and Writers of Theses* (London: Modern Humanities Research Association, 2002).



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